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RELIGION, GOVERNMENT, COMMERCE,  
and NATURAL HISTORY of most Nations  
in the KNOWN WORLD.

Illustrated and adorned with a Variety of genuine Charts,  
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MDCCLVI.

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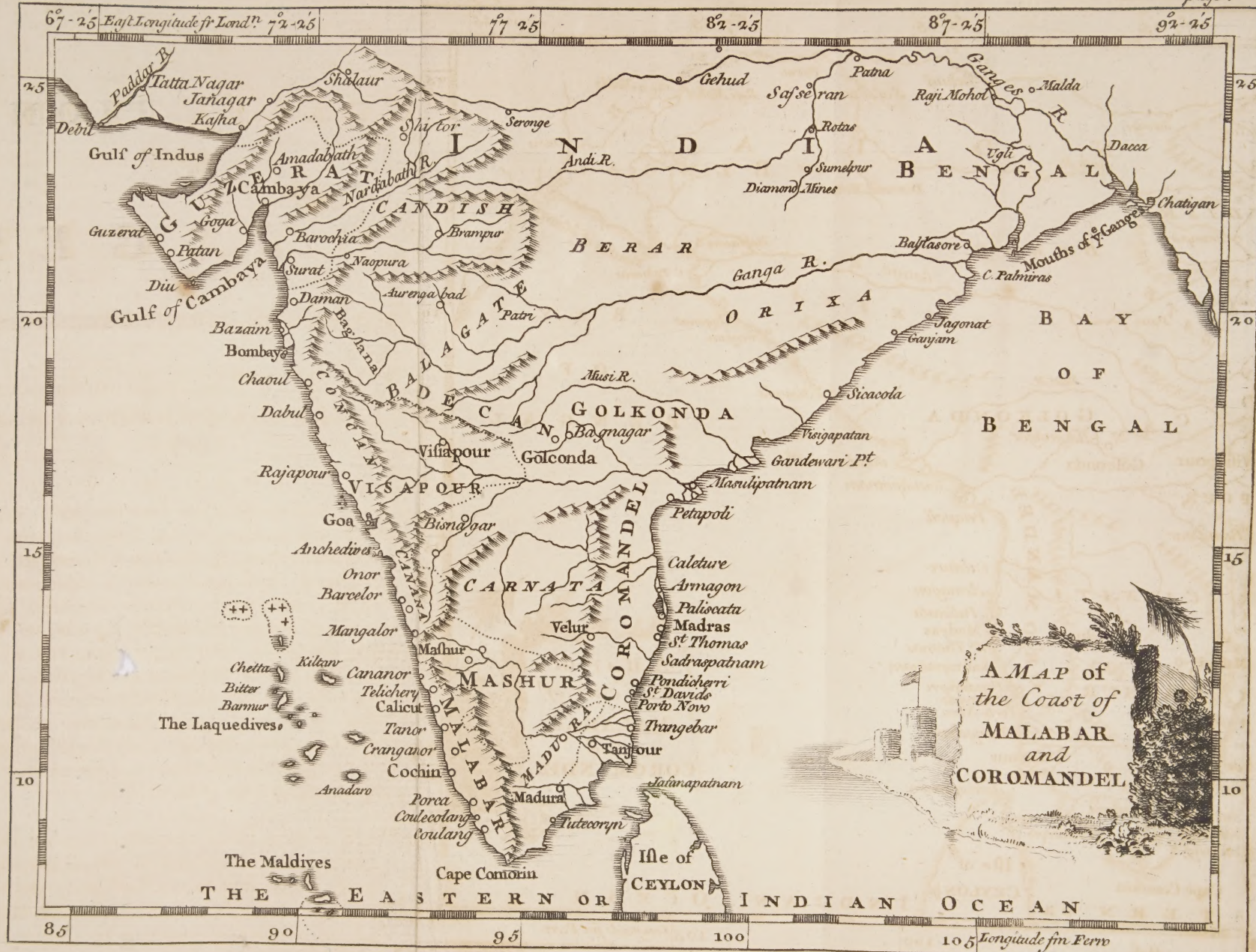
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A  
COLLECTION  
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BALDÆUS'S Account of the Coast  
of MALABAR and COROMANDEL.

CHAP. I.

*Of India, and its manifold divisions into kingdoms and provinces: the manner in which we shall treat of them: an account of the kingdom of Cambaya: its produce, trade, and inhabitants: a description of the city of Amadabath; its riches, commerce, and force: also of the city of Surat, its wealth, and the power and magnificence of its governor: the city of Brochia: the general character of the people of the kingdom of Cambaya: the famous town of Mocha described; its buildings and fortifications: the Massouri and Caravans; the city of Agra: the residence of the Great Mogul, described: a story manifesting the cruelty and insolence of his nobility.*

THE author, from whose writings we have extracted this account of the East Indies, was Philip Baldæus, a Lutheran minister, who resided for many years in Malabar and Coromandel, from whence he removed to Ceylon: he has been allowed to have been extremely accurate



and sincere in his relations ; to have adhered strictly to fact, and to have avoided carefully those fabulous stories that abound in the writings of other travellers : most that he delivers he was an eye-witness of, and where to avoid a breach in his account, he is obliged to have recourse to the assistance of others, he has taken care to consult the most authentic records : he was certainly well qualified to intersperse those military extracts that are to be found all thro' his performance, having personally attended, in his religious character, many sieges, battles and expeditions, where he was very exact in his observations, by being intimately acquainted with a learned Bramin who lived in the same house with him. He had an opportunity of being well acquainted with the customs, manners, and religious ceremonies of the East Indians ; and it was by means of this man that he sometimes got an inside view of the pagods and pagan temples, a favour which scarcely any other traveller can boast of having enjoyed. Upon the whole, it is generally agreed that Baldæus is thro' the whole an impartial writer.

India, properly so called, was antiently divided into India beyond the Ganges, and India within the Ganges, the greater part of which is now known by the name of Indostan, and supposed to be the Havila of holy writ.

India consists of a great number of kingdoms and provinces, viz. Indostan, or the Mogul's dominions, Decan or Vissiapour, Malabar, Coromandel, Crika, Bengal, Pegu, Siam, Cambodia, the Maldivia islands, the islands of Ceylon, Sumatra, Borneo, Banda, Amboina, the Molucca Islands, &c. &c. Of each of these in particular it is not our intention to treat, but barely of such parts of India

dia as our author had an opportunity of being acquainted with; wherefore we shall begin with Cambaya or Guzurat, a name by which a very delightful part of one province is distinguished, and whereby the whole is sometimes denominated.

Cambaya to the westward forms a peninsula upon the gulf of India, and on the southward it is bounded by the kingdom of Decan; it is one of the most fruitful provinces in India, and supplies several of the neighbouring territories with divers sorts of provisions, such as butter, oil, wheat, rice, pease, &c. it is famous for producing the best callico, and abounds with diamonds, amethysts, cornelian and other valuable stones: the people in general are of a quick conception, expert in trade, not bad soldiers, and fond of learning; they are either Pagans or Mahometans; and perhaps commerce is in no part of India in a more flourishing condition. This country is at present subject to the Great Mogul; but was formerly governed by its own king, whose revenues were very considerable, and who could bring a numerous army into the field; it is said to contain about thirty towns of note, among which are Amadabath, Cambaya, Surat, Diu, &c.

The city of Cambaya not only gives name to a gulf, at the bottom of which it is situated, but to the whole province; it lies in twenty-two degrees and thirty minutes north latitude, and is called the Cairo of the Indies, being a fine port, and a place of great trade; it is handsomely built, and fortified with a triple wall, with twelve great gates, besides having a gate at the end of every street, which is shut up at a certain hour of the night to prevent any disorders. Without side the gates are four fine ponds of water, and several magnificent gardens for the use of the inhabitants, who are for

## 4 BALDÆUS'S ACCOUNT OF

the most part Pagans, and drive a considerable trade in superfine stuffs with Diu, Goa, Achen, Macka and Persia, having three public market-places within the city.

About eighteen leagues from the city of Cambaya lies Amadabath, which is not only the principal city of the division called Guzurat, but of the whole kingdom of Cambaya; it is built upon the river Indus, directly under the tropic of Cancer: this town is large and populous, the streets are spacious, and the buildings, as well public as private, very magnificent. Here is one of the finest mosques in all India; it was formerly a Pagan temple, and is curiously adorned with mosaic work, and agate of different colours, of which the neighbouring mountains yield great plenty: there are also two or three public endowments for the reception of maimed or superannuated monkies, an animal held in great veneration by the Banians who inhabit Amadabath, which was formerly the seat of the Pagan kings, many of whose tombs are still worth attention.

The chief commodities of the place are girdles, turbans, damasks, tapestries, sattins, silk-stuffs, sugar, opium, borax, gum-lacca, preserved ginger, sal-armoniac, and indigo, called here anil; they also deal in musk and ambergrease; but these are brought hither from Pegu and Bengal. It is the residence of a governor, who is very rich, and takes the rank of a raja or prince, under whom there is always a well disciplined garrison to awe the Badures, a neighbouring people that are free-booters, independent of the Mogul, whose dominions they ravage with every fair opportunity. Under the jurisdiction of Amadabath are twenty-five considerable towns, and a great number of villages: the country about it, which is a plain, displays a most beautiful landscape; it is watered by the river Indus, and is ob-

liged



lized to furnish the Mogul upon occasion with fifty elephants and twelve thousand horse.

Surat is situated upon the gulf of Cambaya, and is handsomely built, being inhabited by many English, French, and American merchants, who dwell here on account of its being the place to which the diamonds paid to the Mogul, by way of tribute from the king of Golconda, are brought: it is also the mart for pearls, which are found off Cape Cormorin, and in several parts of the Persian gulf; for musk, which is imported hither from China; for ambergrease, that is abundantly produced about the Cape of Good Hope; for civet, taken from an animal of the same name; for divers sorts of drugs, the product of Arabia, and other places; for all sorts of Indian spices, viz. the nutmegs of Molucca, the cloves of Macacar, the cinnamon of Ceylon, and the pepper of Malabar; as well as for variety of Indian stuffs, and cloths, and callicoës. The governor never goes abroad without a numerous train of attendance, both of horse and foot, who make a very magnificent figure, he being either carried in a litter, or riding upon an elephant. The government is only temporary, being seldom left to one man more than four or five years. The customs paid to the Mogul upon exports and imports are very considerable, being one tenth either in money or goods, at the option of the merchant.

In Surat are to be found people of all religions, each man living according to his own principles; but the Mahometans are the most numerous party; and there are a sect of Pagans, of so humane a disposition that they account it a crime to deprive the meanest insect of life: and their priests, who go naked, their bodies clotted with dirt, and their hair growing down almost to their feet, lest they should offend against this ordinance of their religion, carry in their hand a large feather fan, where-

## 6 BALDÆUS'S ACCOUNT OF

with they brush the dust before them as they walk, that they may not tread upon and kill a worm. The people of Surat are extravagant in ornamenting their houses, and have often floors of porcelain. They have but little glass in their windows, using instead thereof crocodile-scales, mother of pearl, and tortoise-shell, through which, being of different colours, the sun shining, causes an agreeable diversity of light and shade. The tax-gatherers and officers of the customs are often very insolent to strangers; and in 1649 their exactions obliged the Dutch to seize upon some goods belonging to the Mogul, the consequence of which was a treaty that set the rights and liberty of foreigners upon a surer footing.

About ten leagues from the sea, and twelve to the north of Surat, stands the city of Brochia, on the side of a very pleasant hill, at the bottom of which runs the river Nardabath, which might afford a good harbour for shipping; but the passage is stoppt up by a sand-bank, about four leagues from the city towards the sea. It is famous for having manufactories of cloth, and the whitest linen in India. The Dutch and English had formerly settlements here, and the people of Malabar were wont to send hither nine or ten ships yearly. The inhabitants in general are Benjans, and among them are many rich merchants and ingenious callico weavers. All merchandise passing thro' this town pays a duty of two per cent. to the Mogul: it contains eighty seven villages in its territory; the ground round it, except just where it stands, is for the most part low; but the high mountains of Vindat rise about six leagues to the south-east of it.

Goga is a small town upon the gulf of Cambaya, about thirty leagues from the city so called; it is defended towards the sea by a strong stone wall, but on the land-side entirely open: here the ships  
out-

outward-bound from Cambaya and Amadabath, for Arabia and the southern parts, often putting in to victual: it was also a station for the Portuguese convoys; for the road, tho' shallow, is very safe.

This province has many other towns of some note, besides what we have mentioned; such as Patapatane; Mungerol, a place that produces excellent cotton; Brodera, where the companies sometimes keep factors to buy up coarse cloth, of which large quantities are therein made. The people of this province are artful and subtle, requiring to be matched with equal policy: gravity, reserve, and splendor impose upon them, and these are modes that must be observed, because they protect you from being over-reached: at the same time they are to be treated with great civility; for insolence or affectation of superiority they will not brook. Their principal commodities are lead, quick-silver, cinnabar, ivory, copper, tin, porcelain, nutmegs, cloves, mace, and pepper; in buying any of which they will cheat you, both in weight and measure, if not carefully watched. Their trade to Mocha is very great, and renders it necessary both to the Dutch and English to keep fair with them.

Mocha is a town in Arabia Felix, subject to the Turks; it gives name to a pretty large province, and is situated at the entrance of the Red Sea, in thirteen degrees and twenty-eight minutes of north latitude. It was formerly a poor village, inhabited only by fishermen, but now it is a place of very great importance, and of considerable extent; the ground about it is barren; it is not walled in, but the houses, which are flat-topped like those of Constantinople, are handsome and commodious, being built of red and blue stones: the harbour to the northward is defended by a castle built of blue stone. In this town are three fine Pagan temples, one of which, standing in the midst of the city, is

adorned with a high steeple. As it is the resting-place of several caravans, the trade has been transferred thither from Aden, a city which has declined apace for some time past. It is inhabited by Turks, Arabians, Benjans, and Jews, and is pretty populous; but chiefly, from the beginning of March to the middle of September, when the Mansouri arrives here, a ship belonging to the Grand Signior, and kept to transport for his use the richest commodities of the Red Sea: its cargo consists of pieces of eight, gold ducats, Italian gold tissues, camblets, quick-silver, saffron, &c. besides such slaves as are taken up the Levant, and it is generally esteemed worth three million of reals: this ship sails back in January, laden with spices, indigo, fine callicoes, turbans, and other Indian wares.

There arrives here constantly in March a caravan of Jews, Arabians, and Armenians from Alexandria and Aleppo; it consists of sixteen hundred camels, and is laden with twisted silk, gold wire, red coral, cinnabar, saffron, myrrh, needles, spectacles, glasses, knives, and scissars, &c. and this caravan leaves the place in December, laden with all sorts of Indian goods; it seldom travels above three or four leagues a day, marching very slowly: with it there come a multitude of pilgrims bound to the tomb of Mahomet at Medina, about eight leagues from Meccha; of these it is said there are yearly not less than thirty-five thousand.

Mocha is in the jurisdiction of the Basha of Yemak; and the revenues of it are said to be worth to the Grand Signior two hundred thousand reals yearly: every bale or chest of goods pays a certain private duty according to its value to the governor; and thus the pains the governor is often seen personally taking in shipping or unshipping goods in this town, is easily accounted for. All Moorish ships that anchor here are ob-  
liged

liged to land their whole cargoes, and pay the full duty, whether they dispose of them or no; when they have cleared all out, they carry their sails and rudder ashore, and then fire a cannon to warn the governor, that he may send an officer on board to see that they have not secreted any thing. Each of these ships is moreover obliged to pay an extraordinary tax, called anchorage-money; this is raised from ten to fifty reals, according to the burthen of the vessel.

Besides these extortions upon the Nachodes or Moorish officers, there is still another; for as soon as they come into port, they are brought before the governor in great state, attended by drums, pipes, &c. being first invested with a certain robe of ceremony, which is taken from them on their return; and the same farce is played over again when they are about to quit the town, for which they pay near fifty reals in all. About the spring, the Portuguese ships from Goa, Goga, and other places put in here with rice and tobacco, which they dispose of to the people of the country; as also indico, callicoës, Guzurate stuffs, sail-cloth, and drugs, which are sold to the Turkish caravans. They are paid for their cargo in pieces of eight, and a valuable red dye.

About the same time ships from Cambaya and Malabar bring hither pepper, all sorts of India cloth, superfine turbans, white and blue girdles, painted callicoës, rice, tobacco, porcelain, &c. and take in return raisins, almonds, red dye, elephants teeth, coffee, and sometimes horses. The want of wood and water is a great defect in this town: these however, as well as provisions are plenty in a small island in the neighbourhood, used by the English to careen in, where old cloaths are a very valuable commodity.



Before we quit these territories, it will not be amiss to say something of the city of Agra, wherein the Great Mogul resides. Agra is the capital of Indostan, situated beyond the Ganges, upon the river Gemini; it is large, but not well-built, surrounded with a strong wall of red stone, and fortified with a ditch an hundred cubits in width, and it is a good day's journey to ride round it on horseback; wherefore it is called the Queen of the East. The streets are very long, and full of shops and magazines: there are in it fifteen market-places, and eighty caravanferas, or places appointed for the reception of those who travel in caravans. There are some elegant houses belonging to the nobility; but in those of private people there is nothing remarkable; for in calling them indifferent we say no worse than can be said of all the towns in India. They are divided one from the other by high stone walls, intended principally to conceal their women. There is nothing in the whole town particularly worth seeing, except some tombs that are in the suburbs; and the royal-palace, in which the general assembly of the great men of the empire meet, who very often are guilty of the most atrocious crimes, even in the presence of their sovereign, and they have been known to murder one another before his face, as happened in 1644, when a commandant of five thousand horse resenting something that had been said to him by the king's Bakia, which he interpreted into an affront, tho' never meant as such, dispatched him with his scymetar; whereupon he himself fell beneath the swords of two others who were friends to the deceased. And the consequence was a violent commotion, wherein many people lost their lives, and to quell which a very considerable force proved necessary: however the Mogul, who had been an eye-witness

witness of the whole, ordered the body of the aggressor to be flung into the river, and therein manifested an inclination to justice.

## CH A P. II.

*The strength and importance of Diu, in possession of the Portuguese: the kingdom and city of Visiapour described: the revenge of an Italian upon one of the Mogul's officers, for being over-curious, related: an account of Bombay, and of the first settling of the Portuguese under Albuquerque at Goa: the air of Goa very hurtful: the great power of the viceroy: the Portuguese inhabitants of Goa characterized: the divisions of Malabar; its produce and trade: the climate inclement.*

THERE is a small island on this side the Ganges, called Diu, in which is a city of some note bearing the same name; wherein the Portuguese, who have been possessed of it since the year 1553, have three strong forts, one of which is thought impregnable, being surrounded with a double ditch filled with sea-water, in one of which there is a good anchorage for such vessels as are admitted into it: it is built upon a high rock, flanked with strong bastions, and furnished with some pieces of artillery. The trade of this place was much greater formerly than it is now; the Dutch and English having removed it to Surat. Daman, Chaoul, and Bazain shared in the fate of Diu, and declined apace when their traffic was lost; so that at present they are but little noticed.

At the mouth of the river Helevaro, which takes its rise from the mountains of Ballaquate, stands a city called Dabul; it is in the kingdom of Decan, in latitude twenty, and was once a place of good trade;

trade; but has not quite recovered since it was plundered and burned by the Portuguese under Dalmeyda in the year 1508.

Having taken notice of the most remarkable places in the kingdoms of Cambaya and Decan, we shall now proceed to Vifiapour, it being the next in our way, measuring in length two hundred and fifty leagues, and an hundred and fifty in breadth. The principal city in this territory bears the same name; it is five leagues in compass, surrounded by strong walls, with five noble gates, whereon were said to be a thousand pieces of cannon, brass and iron; amongst which was one carrying five hundred and forty pound of gun-powder: this was said to be the work of a native of Rome, who threw one of the king's commissioners that pretended to inquire into what it had cost, into the mold wherein he had cast it. The king's palace is in the midst of the town, surrounded by a ditch filled with water and abounding with crocodiles. It had formerly a sovereign of its own; but was reduced by the Great Mogul after a very wearisome war; it is forty leagues from Dabul, and sixty from Goa; close to it runs the river Mandoa; Narraspour and Serrapour, two villages, the former of which was once the residence of the kings of Vifiapour, are now united to its suburbs, which are inhabited by its richest merchants.

Bombay, which formerly belonged to the Portuguese, but was given to the English in 1662, as part of the dowry of the Infanta of Portugal, when married to our Charles II. and wherein our East India company have a considerable settlement, is situated in the kingdom of Vifiapour, as is also Wingurla, where the Dutch are possessed of a good factory, and which is of great importance to them, as well on account of its great plenty of provision, as for its proximity to Goa.





T. Jefferys sculp.

*A View of Bombay, belonging to the English East India Company.*



Goa is the capital of the Portuguese Indies, being the seat of a bishop and a viceroy; it was first subdued by Albuquerque, a name well known in this part of the world, who was driven out of it once, but returned with an additional reinforcement, and took it again by assault: after which exploit, he took care to fortify the place with brick and stone, and erected a brazen cross, which being found among the ruins of some part of the town, without any one's being able to comprehend whence it could come, was called Miraculous; and in order to secure to the Portuguese a firm footing here, he offered considerable advantages to such of his soldiers as intermarried with the women of the country.

Goa stands upon an island formed by the the rivers Mandova and Guari, in fifteen degrees and twenty minutes of north latitude; it is surrounded by very high mountains, which prevent the free course of the air, and consequently render it wholesome; and it is fatal to most European constitutions, a circumstance that hinders it from being so well inhabited as it might otherwise be: however, there is in it a great number of handicraft tradesmen; and the principal street is lined with shops of silk, porcelain, drugs, &c. Provisions, and all sorts of wares are daily sold by a public auctioneer called lalang, to the highest bidder, in the marketplace; and here a man may, in a short time, purchase slaves, houses, furniture, or any thing which he stands in need of. Little business can be done here in the middle of the day, on account of the excessive heat. Their police is good and well regulated; and they have a public infirmary, thought by those who have seen it and compared it with others, to be one of the finest in the world. The churches of Goa are superbly adorned; the windows being set with mother of pearl instead of glass: there are seven parish churches besides the cathedral,

dral, and many monastries: the port is a very fine one, and may be put in competition with those of Constantinople and Toulon, which can be exceeded by none. It is remarkable, that no fish are found in it, and scarcely any pigeons can live in the air of Goa, which is however well noted for excellent sweetmeats. The Jesuits are called here Paulists, from a great church belonging to them, dedicated to St. Paul; they have four other churches besides, the ceiling of one of which, known by the name of the Good Jesus, is finely painted. The vice-royalty of Goa is one of the greatest in the world, having under it, at the viceroy's disposal, the government of Mozambic in Africa, of Mascate in Arabia, of Ormus in Persia, of Ceylon near Cape Cormorin, and of Molucca at the bottom of the Gulph of India; any one of which is as profitable as the best government in Europe. It is certain, that tho' the territory of Goa does not produce so much now, as before the Dutch and English had obtained so firm a footing in India as they now maintain, it still yields very great wealth to the crown of Portugal.

The Portuguese, who are naturally indolent, are here still more so; for giving themselves up entirely to sensuality and pleasures, they leave their business to be managed by slaves, to whom even the women abandon the care of their children. The issue of an Indian woman and a Portuguese are called *Mestizes*, and the offspring of these again are called *Castizes*. Drunkenness is here but little known, yet murders, in consequence of very trivial disputes, are frequent, and fornication and adultery are thought nothing of, lust being no where more indulged: however, the men, who are perhaps not without cause extremely jealous, never permit their wives to walk; if they go abroad, they are covered in close chairs and veiled, and at home are kept in



in the upper part of the house, where the windows are latticed, and so contrived as to admit of no communication with the street; they all use snuff extravagantly, and none of them, who are in the least removed from the common herd, will walk out without having their sword carried by one servant, and an umbrella by another; perhaps no people can be more proud; they are fond of stroking up their whiskers. The venereal disease is common here, and they are afflicted with fevers, which they cure by bleeding; they devour large quantities of sweetmeats, and drink a deal of water: the women live much upon rice, tho' they have wheaten bread; they also chew beetle and drink arrack, and make great use of pickles, whence they contract a very pale complexion.

About twelve leagues from Goa is the Island of Anchedia, covered with wood, and the water about it well stored with fish: the Portuguese had a strong fort here formerly, which they demolished themselves, finding it but of little service, as they did that of Onor, a city also in this neighbourhood, but belonging to the kingdom of Casara; the soil whereof is fertile in rice and other necessaries of life; the inhabitants are well able to bear hard labour. The next city of note is Batecalo, which became tributary to Portugal in the reign of Emanuel; but the inhabitants ceasing to pay their quota, they were soon brought to terms by a Portuguese fleet commanded by Alphonso Renes, and afterwards by Sofaga, who obliged them not only to acknowledge their subjection, but also compelled the queen to pay the arrears of the tax. Besides what we have mentioned, there are the towns of Barcelor, Baranor, and Mangalor, which not being of any consequence, we shall pass over, and proceed to Malabar, which begins about fifty leagues to the south of Goa, extending to Cape Comorin,

morin, and the utmost borders of India on this side the Ganges.

Malabar was formerly subject to one sovereign, who resided at Celeuff; but he being lost on his return from visiting the tomb of Mahomet, and leaving no heirs, his esquire, his sword-bearer, and his scepter-bearer, being the principal people in power, divided the kingdom between them.

It now contains the kingdoms of Canamor, Calcut, Cranganor, Cochin, and Coulang; to which some add Frecancon, Porca, and Coulecolang; but they are scarcely worth including. The whole country is well watered, and the communication between different places consequently easy; but the rivers in general are shallow, and not capable of bearing ships of burthen; the largest of them are Bergera, Parane, and Crunganon, which have eighteen or nineteen feet at high water, and are the boundaries of Calcut and Cochin: the former is a remarkable receptacle for pirates.

During the months of January, February, and March, the nights along the coast are extremely cold, accompanied with thick fogs, yet the days are very hot, and they have a sea wind every day from ten in the morning till sunset, and a land wind every night: from June to November it is very dangerous being on the coast, and their winter begins in May and continues till November. Pepper and cardamum are the principal products of Malabar; the former is better and cheaper at one place than another, it thrives best in the shade, and has a weak stem, like our vine, requiring support; every stem bears about six bunches, each bunch a foot long, of the colour of red grapes before it ripens; they are plucked green in October and November, and become black by being dried in the sun upon mats: here is also good ginger and borborri of a saffron colour, with a few aloes. Ma-

labar

Malabar also yields plenty of wax, an indifferent sort of salt-petre, and some bezoar stones: the country abounds in cocoes and such other fruit trees as are natural to the climate of India.

Opium sells well, the people using it in very large quantities, and ambergrease will sell for five or six reals an ounce; cloves, nutmegs, mace, alum, china-root, lead, tin, copper, brass, brimstone, ciunabar, red damasks, scarlet and crimson cloths, together with benzoin and coarse porcelain, are all good commodities in this place. The whole coast abounds with fish, and their cod is particularly excellent; they have also oxen, swine, and all sorts of poultry in great plenty: from the cocoes is extracted a liquor, which taken sparingly is not unwholesome, and from it arrack is distilled.

Cananor is a populous city, the residence of its king, who maintains a good number of musketeers and archers; it was formerly a place of great trade, and many rich mahometan merchants live under protection of the cannon of the fortifications. It is about forty leagues to the north of Cochin, and has a large secure harbour. The city of Termapatan is about two leagues south of Cananor, and strengthened on the land side by a good stanch wall.

The second kingdom in Malabar is Calecut, beginning four leagues to the south of the river Bergera, and extending to the river Canganor, being a space of thirty-two leagues; it is twenty leagues broad.

The king of Calecut is the most powerful of the Malabar kings, having a good army, expert in fire arms as well as in the bow and arrow. Our author tells us, that the king of Calecut, whom he saw, appeared to be fifty years old, and that his intellects were much damaged by the immoderate use of opium. The crown does not descend to  
the

the king's son, but to his sister or to the mother's nearest kindred, as being the side surest from bastardy. No pepper must be sold here to any but the king's factors, who afterwards dispose of it at the best market for his use.

### C H A P. III.

*The situation of the city of Cranganor; taken from the Portuguese by the Dutch: Syriac supposed to be spoken by the Saviour of mankind: the ecclesiastical government of the Christians hereabout related: their great respect to St. Thomas: their baptisms, burials and marriages: the city of Cochin described; considerably damaged by the Dutch; who in vain endeavour to acquire the friendship of the country catholics: Porca and Coulang described: a character of the Malabar gentlemen: Tutecoryn described: a short account of the pearl fishery.*

CRANGANOR is the chief city of the kingdom of the same name; it stands upon a hill, being a sandy soil, five leagues to the north of Cochin, and twenty to the south of Calecut; by it runs a winding river, which discharges itself at a little distance into the sea: it was for many years the residence of a Portuguese archbishop; and when the Dutch took possession of it in the year 1662, having driven out the Portuguese, after a stout resistance, they found a noble college and a library well furnished, the structure of which was very elegant; here was also a good cathedral and a church belonging to the Franciscans; without the wall was the college of Chanotte, wherein the Christian youths received their education, and the Syriac language was taught, which is in great esteem, as a language supposed to have been sometime used by the Saviour of mankind and his apostles.

The



The Christians of Cranganor are not rich. St. Thomas is their favourite saint, his feast being kept on the first of July; and there are many pagans who keep the same day in commemoration of him. Among the mountains of Chaldea lives their high priest, who has an ecclesiastical council, consisting of twelve cardinals, two bishops, and several priests, with whom he settles all religious disputes, and his mandates are carefully obeyed. The priests have their heads shaved so as to represent a cross; they administer the sacrament in both kinds, making use of grape juice instead of wine, and always confessing first; they do not baptise their children in less than forty days, except in cases of extremity; they sprinkle with holy water when they enter the church, and their forms of burial are the same as in other catholic countries. The relations of the deceased entertain their friends for about a week, in a plentiful manner, and the feast is intermingled with prayers for the dead, and encomiums upon his virtues and merit. They keep a strict lent of forty days; and most of their festivals are the same with those observed by other Christian churches. They have convents and nunneries, and adhere strictly to their vows, particularly to that of chastity: they permit their clergy to marry once, but no oftener upon any account; nor can any marriage among them be annulled but by death; and the widow who takes a second husband in less than twelve months after the death of the first, forfeits her dowry.

The Isle of Vaykin, which is pretty fertile, subject to the king of Cochin, lies betwixt the rivers of Cranganor and of Cochin. The Dutch erected a fort upon it, to which they gave the title of New Orange in the year 1662, when they laid siege to Cochin; the king of which place is in the interest

interest of the Portuguese, and his dominions are about ten leagues long.

The city of Cochin is very antient; it is pleasantly situated, but so very low and marshy, that the air is not reckoned wholesome, and yet it abounds with provision; and the Portuguese, who fortified it in 1504, have embellished it considerably. It is about two miles long, and lies in ten degrees north latitude, having the sea to the westward; and at the highest side, the river being near twenty fathom deep; but the entrance of the harbour in winter is difficult, being choaked up with sand, which is carried away by the violence of the current in summer. Some of the principal houses have gardens that reach to the river, in which there is plenty of fish, which the Chinese are dextrous in catching with nets. The Jesuits had here a good church, with a very musical ring of bells, also a college three stories high, surrounded by a strong wall; the cathedral was supported by two rows of pillars; it had a fine steeple, and was admired as a very masterly piece of architecture; but these and several other good churches were demolished by the Dutch when they drove out the Portuguese; however, they spared a Franciscan monastery, and permitted two brothers, who inhabited it, to have a free exercise of their religion.

The houses of Cochin, which belong to any people of substance, are divided from each other by thin high walls: the Jews who inhabit here are neither white, black, nor brown, but of a colour between the three; they are allowed to have a synagogue without the fortifications. The Christians and mahometans, or natives of Malabar, have different parts of the city assigned them to reside in, their commixing having been formerly productive

tive of great disputes; that wherein the latter reside being lower than the other, and built after the Indian fashion, with very broad streets: however, the regal palace is built with brick and stone; and has some apartments that are lofty and spacious in the European manner: near it is a pagan temple, beside which stands a large cistern.

The Portuguese had been in possession of Cochin about a hundred and fifty years, when they were attacked by the Dutch in 1661, whom they obliged to quit the siege and weigh anchor in the night; but the succeeding year the Hollanders returned with great force, and obliged them to surrender on conditions, not at all dishonourable to those who were vanquished, which were faithfully observed by the Dutch general, who was visited soon after the reduction by a Roman catholic bishop, whom he received in a very respectful manner; but he found it impossible to gain the friendship of the head of the Malabar church, and many of his followers, who inhabited the Chaldean mountains.

About four leagues to the southward of Cochin begins the kingdom of Porca or Percatti, the air of which place is not reckoned good, and the inhabitants are greatly afflicted with blindness and swelled legs, which they attribute to certain nitrous particles that impregnate the water which they commonly drink; the soil is very fruitful, and yields plenty of rice. When the Dutch arrived here in 1642, they found the king engaged in a war with the Portuguese, who had seized some part of his dominions. This monarch was glad of a new ally; in consequence of the assistance promised him by the Dutch, he allowed them to load one ship yearly with pepper in his kingdom, and granted his protection to all ships belonging to the republic of Holland that should chance to touch at Porca. The king who reigned here in 1664, of whom

whom our author had an audience, was about twenty-four years old, strong limbed, well proportioned, and very active; his ears, fingers and feet were loaded with jewels of considerable value: he has about five hundred small galleys, wherewith in the rainy seasons, when the water covers all the surrounding countries, he makes frequent excursions, to the great annoyance of the king of Cochin, who is his foe; he was for some time at variance with the Dutch, but they reduced him by the sword. The people of Porca or Percatti used formerly to transport their pepper to Mocha; but since the English have trafficked here in that commodity, they have established a factory by the sea-side. The inland inhabitants get their livelihood by gathering and managing pepper, which they are obliged to sell to a Bramin, who is the king's factor: many of them were converted to Christianity by the Portuguese.

Next to Porca is Calecoulang, a kingdom of no great extent, where the Dutch had formerly factories to buy up pepper; but the least of all the Malabar kingdoms is that of Coulang, extending to the utmost point of Cape Comorin. The chief city of this kingdom, whence it takes its name, is counted one of the most wealthy in Europe, the air being salubrious, and there being in the neighbourhood many excellent springs; it stands near the sea side, is adorned with trees, and contains some fine houses and seven churches. When the Portuguese first came into this kingdom, they erected a strong house wherein to defend themselves from the treachery of the natives; but being one night off their guard, they were surprised and all cut to pieces; which piece of treacherous barbarity was afterwards revenged by Laurence the son of Francis Almeyda, who burned twenty ships belonging to the king of the place, richly laden.

In the year 1503, a Dominican friar called Rotheric, preached the gospel here, and made many converts to Christianity. The inhabitants are very treacherous, having one time basely assassinated some Dutch officers withoutside one of the gates, and another time endeavoured to surprize them within the town, under cover of night, which they were very near effecting.

We ought before to have observed that the gentlemen of Malabar, or such as derive their lineage from princes and Bramins are called Nairos, and that they are proud, arrogant, bold, and insolent; when they meet any common people in the street, they cry out po, po, that is give way, give way. They always wear shields and scymetars, which they leave at the door when they visit a neighbour's wife; these being the badges of their presence within, and a warning that no body may enter to disturb them. They are good wrestlers, and introduced early to the field; in order to make their nerves pliable, they rub them constantly with an oil particularly adapted to the purpose; they are well versed in the gymnastic arts, handling the bow and arrow, firing the musket, &c. and of late years they have been taught to make their gun-powder, barrels, and matches. They commonly engage without any cloaths, but a small piece of stuff girded round the waste; in fighting they often wheel, with a view of taking the advantage of their antagonists; and when they turn their backs and you would think them about to run, they face about and renew the attack with fresh vigor; they handle their shields in their defence with great dexterity. The worst sort of them are well known in Batavia; they are a company of desperadoes who bind themselves and all their kindred by oath, to revenge an injury that is done to them. The power of the kings of Malabar is estimated



estimated by the number of Nairos in his service; they are generally very faithful to their sovereign, and to revenge his death would sacrifice their heart's blood.

They are declared enemies of the Christians, as being naturally fierce, cruel, and lustful; they opposed the Hollanders in 1661 when they attacked Coulang, and between seven and eight thousand of them who had given themselves false spirits with opium, defended the place for some time rather like fiends than men. Sometime before that period, they fell upon and killed thirty Portuguese who had been concerned in plundering, in the time of peace, a rich pagan temple about ten leagues from the city. A vessel filled with some of the booty, having been sent as a present to John king of Portugal, he ordered it to be immediately returned and deposited in the pagode whence it was taken, and what is still more surprizing, this order was made in pursuance of the then reigning pope's advice. Soon after the city of Coulang was taken by the Dutch, their ships, being twenty three in number, were in great danger from a violent storm, which however they out-rid with the loss of three sloops; the storm lasted for three days, and what made it more alarming to the Dutch, was, there being four vessels exposed to it laden with provisions, such as meal, bacon, cheese, wine, and oil, besides a reinforcement of landmen, most of whom laboured under the bloody flux; however, as soon as the tempest was appeased, the fortifications of the place were repaired as expeditiously as possible, it was well garrisoned, and the fleet sent home.

Along the sea shore of a neighbouring kingdom called Frevancor, you find scattered several small Christian churches used by the Paruas who believe in Christ, and owe what little knowledge of religion they have to St. Francis Xavier: the Dutch acquired

acquired their hatred by plundering their places of divine worship, and despoiling them of their images; and to no purpose did our author endeavour to instruct these people in the principles of the reformed church, there was no possibility of prevailing over their prejudices, and the influence of the Roman catholic priests dispersed among them in pretty good numbers; yet the whole of the Paruas knowledge consists in their being able to repeat by heart the creed, the lord's prayer, the salutation of the virgin, and the ten commandments. Among the few ministers of the reformed mission, who endeavoured to preach the gospel and dispel the mists of ignorance that overspread this land, was John Fereira Almeyda, a native of Lisbon, who had been formerly a Roman-Catholic, but having abjured that religion and fled from Goa, he was there burned in effigy; a story which was so well propagated, that he could get no body to listen to him, and of consequence no body upon the mission among the Paruas had less success.

Tutecoryn, which was taken by the Dutch in 1568, not without a warm dispute, the natives having set fire to their town and to some small galleys belonging thereto, is properly no more than a village, as being on every side defenceless, without wall, ditch, or fortification. Here is made the best lime in India. It is adorned with threehand some churches, and several houses well built of stone; and from it there is an entertaining sea prospect. The Dutch have often, since they gained ground here, attempted to raise some fortifications, but the sovereign of the territory, or the Naik, with whom they don't care to quarrel, never would permit it; so that they are obliged to use the churches for a factory, wherein they maintain a principal and de-

puty factor, with three assistants and eight soldiers.

Near this place is a famous pearl fishery, a short account of which will not perhaps be disagreeable.

The pearls are found in eatable oysters at eight, nine, or perhaps ten fathom deep, and diving for them is sometimes attended with great danger; this fishery is not allowed every year, because then the oysters would never come to maturity; besides, the oyster beds are often covered with sand. They try by certain experiments if it be a proper time to fish; and if it prove such, the neighbouring inhabitants, together with their families, remove to the sea side, where they live under tents until the season is over. The Dutch have a particular proportion of what is taken, for defending the trade; and the rest is disposed of in the public markets of Tutecoryn and Calissamam.

The pearls of this coast every way exceed such as are taken up near Ormus on the Persian gulf, whence a great deal of pearl dust is transported to Europe, where it is used in pectorals. Pearls seem to be nourished by water and sand, and are esteemed according to their size, shape, and colour.

Tutecoryn is pretty populous, there being a large manufactory for weaving established here; and plenty of sugar, rice, and all kinds of provisions. In October, this climate is troubled with very violent storms, and during the winter season the rains are sudden and heavy; besides, the air is apt to promote breakings out, and encourage cutaneous disorders. The nights of January, February and March are extremely cold, with their heavy fogs; yet the days are so hot, that people cannot bear to set their naked feet to the ground.





*A View of the Pearl Fishery.*

*J. Jefferys sculp.*



## C H A P. IV.

*The difference of seasons in the same degree of latitude accounted for according to reason: sudden gusts of wind dangerous, proved by examples: Tondy and Negapatnam described: the latter surrenders upon condition to the Hollanders: the hot winds often have a bad effect: a famine in which the people sell themselves for little or nothing: the trade of Tran-gebar, Porto-Nuovo, Tegnapatnam, and Tire-pplier: the fortifications of the city of Changier described: our author is well received here: a character of his chief minister: some account of the city of Masulipatam: of the diamonds, rubies, and other commodities that are exported thence: great hardships in trading in this place.*

**I**T will not be amiss to observe here that there is something surprizing in the different seasons, which at the very same time of year reign in Tutecoryn and Comorin; for while, from April to September, both months inclusive, the air is calm settled and delightful, producing all the blessings of summer, on the south side of Cape Comorin; on the north side the weather is thick, foggy, and unwholesome; the rains pour down in torrents and continued tempests seem to threaten immediate devastation; this is caused by the mountains of the Cape, round which the south winds blowing at this time clear the air on the south side, and carry all the turbulent weather to the northward: the mountains are certainly the receptacles of winds and rains, which, according as they emit, form the seasons and influence the temperature of the air.

This is a truth, our author observes, that is very discernible on the Cape of the south point of

Africa, where from the caverns and hollow places in the mountains, sudden gusts of wind often rush out, of force sufficient to overturn every thing that opposes them: by one of these, he says, he saw once a coach belonging to some of the Dutch factory overturned, and by another, he himself was near being born from his horse, keeping the saddle with great difficulty. Those who are well acquainted with the Cape of Good Hope, take the gathering of thick clouds on the top of the table mountain, as an infallible sign of an approaching tempest.

The tops of the mountains near the equinoctial line, soaring to a considerable, nay to a prodigious height, stop the free course of the air, which moves from west to east regularly, and it is thereby condensed into clouds, and necessarily produces on one side wind and rain, while to the other it gives the most serene weather; for these mountains rise as if to divide winter and summer, and hence the regular rains of spring and autumn are easily accounted for. The country about Columbo, Gale, and Mature, being the most mountainous part of the Isle of Ceylon, has very seasonable rains; while in the open flat country as about Jesnapatnam, &c. it rains only in October, November, and some small part of the month of December; the defect, however, is remedied by fogs and dews: this assertion can also be attested by the inhabitants of Peru, where the land near the mountains is often refreshed with showers, whereas in the more exposed countries, especially near the sea, they have only heavy fogs or thick dews. It is to be hoped our readers will excuse our detaining them thus long upon this subject, as our intention was in some measure to account for the varieties of weather at the same time prevailing in the self-same climate; and for a farther elucidation of



of this entertaining inquiry, we beg leave to refer them to lord Verulam; and Cartesius, who have treated upon it largely and judiciously.

There are many of the Paruas churches to be met with on the road from Tutecoryn, to the Isle of Rammanakoyel, which isle abounds in cattle, and takes its name from Bramma or Ramma, and the Malabar word Koyel, which signifies a temple; there being a very fine one erected to the lord of the isle on the sea-side, in which it is said there are immense treasures, and which has its foundation strengthened by stones of prodigious magnitude, whereby the force of the waves dashing against it, and enraged by the south winds, is broken.

The soil is not over fruitful, it is in general light and sandy, so that when the wind blows hard, it is necessary to secure the eyes, which otherwise will suffer. The lord of the isle has built a strong fort opposite to the territory of the Naik on the Coromandel coast; the cannon of it commands a strait leading to Manaar, Jafnapatnam, and Negapatnam, and with sinking a few stones he can quite choak up the channel; thus being entire master of the navigation, those who trade in these parts must be always careful of maintaining a good correspondence with him. Here is a very strict watch kept; and in 1662, a lieutenant, by name Herman Egbertz, and Philip Baldæus were made prisoners, as they passed this way, and very closely confined, being kept for sometime without any thing either to eat or drink; nor were they released till an inhabitant of Manaar, who chanced to pass the same road and knew our author, offered to answer for him and his companion.

In this neighbourhood is a ridge of sands and rocks, over which small boats may sometimes pass,



called Adam's-Bridge, of which we shall speak more largely in our description of Ceylon.

It is now time for us to take some view of the south parts of Coromandel, subject for the most part to the Naik of Madure and Tanjouwer; and here the first place of any note that we meet with is Tondy, whence they yearly transport a great number of cattle to Jafnapatnam; and here in the road to Negapatnam, stands a pagode called Hacliemeer, which is a very lofty building. The city of Negapatnam is situated near the shore, without any convenient harbour, which is indeed the case all along the coast of Coromandel. Patnam in the Malabar language signifies a city, and nega a serpent; with a venomous species of which the country hereabouts abounds, which are held in such veneration by the Pagans, that it is thought an unpardonable crime to kill one; and he who should do it by chance, would look upon it as the prelude of some terrible misfortune. The city of Negapatnam was taken from the Portuguese in 1659 by the Dutch forces, commanded by John Van der Laan, and Lucas Van der Dussen. It surrendered upon condition, and the Portuguese were allowed to depart with their families, substance and church ornaments, to certain ships appointed by the Dutch for that service. Here are some good buildings and a handsome church, whence there is a good prospect of the sea, from which they have breezes very refreshing both to men and beasts, but the land winds are hot and stifling; while the latter continue blowing, the people gather their water in stone vessels, and it keeps very cool: what makes the heat more intollerable is, that these winds obstruct the perspiration, and at Masulipatan they are so very stifling, as often to kill the inhabitants. On the north side of Negapatnam, without the gates, stands a very lofty pagode called  
China;

China; and near it a fine seat with good orchards and elegant gardens built by a rich Portuguese.

Some short time before Baldæus arrived, the king of Vifiapour had invaded the country, and destroyed all the fruits of the earth; and afterwards, the Naik besieged the city, but was repulsed with considerable loss: these troubles had produced a famine so very rigorous, that the country people not finding subsistence without the gates, crowded into the city in search of rice and other eatables, where there not being sufficient provision for them all, the streets were filled with the most miserable objects dying for want, and offering to sell themselves as slaves for a little bread; upwards of five thousand of these emaciated creatures were bought and carried to Jafnapatnam, as many more to Columbo, and several thousands were transported to Batavia, having been purchased upon an average at ten shillings a head. The Naik has had several struggles with the Dutch since their being settled here, but he has always been worsted.

About two leagues from Negapatnam, lies a town called Carcal, where is made a sort of stuff much in use with the Japonese, called Rambotyns; before the Dutch were masters of Negapatnam, they had a factory in this place.

Three leagues beyond it stands Trangebar, a Danish fort, consisting of four bulwarks, and garrisoned by Topasses and Negroes; it is inhabited by Portuguese, Pagans, and Mahometans, who have little or no traffic, and subsist principally by despoiling their neighbours with whom they are always at variance; because they were formerly treated very ill by them. About the year 1658, one Simon van Medenblick had, acting under a Danish commission, taken a Moorish vessel which was very

rich; and put the whole crew to the sword.

Porto-Nuovo belonging to the Portuguese, is about four or five leagues from Trangebar, it is inhabited by Portuguese, who trade chiefly in arrack, coco-nuts, and hard-wood, called hunter's wood: the Dutch have a factory about a league beyond it, at a place called Tegnapatam; and a little farther on, lies Tirepoplier, upon a river which is navigable within half a league of the Dutch factory, where there is good anchorage in a grey sandy bottom in seventy seven fathom water: here is a castle of some strength, and a handsome pagode, with a very high flat-roofed stone tower, which serves as a landmark to mariners. The soil is either rock or sand, and it is under the jurisdiction of Christappanaik, who resides at Changier, two days journey to the south of Tirepoplier.

The city of Changier is well inhabited, three times as large as Rotterdam, situated in a delightful vale, and watered on the south by a river; it is fortified with double stone walls; on the outside are four high rocks, on one whereof stands a good pagode, and on each of the other three a strong castle: these rocks afford good fishponds, fine gardens, and most delicious springs of water; besides, the principal avenue of the city is commanded by a fort raised upon a rock, accessible only on one side. The Naik's palace is well defended, and delightfully situated in a hollow between two of the beforementioned rocks; they have some cannon here made of very long and broad iron bars kept together with strong hoops of the same metal, and their bullets are made of stone cut round; their cannon are of different sizes, and their bullets formed accordingly.

The

The Naik received our author and his fellow travellers with great respect for fourteen days, entertaining them in the most splendid manner; and giving them a full view of all his wealth, which was prodigious, consisting of gold, silver, jewels, and sumptuous apparel; besides a great number of wives and concubines, and a good army both of horse and foot. The Naik who was pretty old and almost doating, had committed the care of his kingdom at that time to one Trinvingelaya, who had emasculated himself: he was cruel, proud, covetous, and implacable; however, by his severity, he had cleared the country of robbers, who before his administration over-ran it. For one thousand eight hundred rix-dollars yearly, he offered the Dutch an exemption from all duties, free exercise of religion, and liberty to rebuild the forts of the Portuguese which lay in ruins.

As the country is extremely populous, there is a necessity for their being supplied from abroad with provision, though the land is fertile: they export large quantities of linen and woollen to Amboyna, Banda, and the Moluccas; but their wares must be examined with care, the quality of the things themselves being often much inferior to their patterns. Their imports are lead, tin, copper, quick-silver, cinnabar, musk, mace, nutmegs, and pepper, Sandal-wood, Chinese silks, velvets, potana, girdles, satins, and wrought carpets.

The Dutch have also a factory at Sadraspatan, by which place runs the road to Madraspatan, otherwise Chiunepatan, where the English are settled at a place called Fort St. George.

In thirteen degrees and a half north latitude, is an antient trading city formerly belonging to the Portuguese, but taken from them by the Moors, called St. Thomas, famous for weaving and dying;

the perfection of the last art being attributed to the excellency of their water, which rises from a white sandy sod, quite free from clay.

About five leagues from St. Thomas, stands the town of Paliacatta, where there is an indifferent harbour; and six leagues up the country in a direct line, on the south side of a valley very plain to be seen, formerly stood the old castle of Rama Geridorgon; where now appears fort Geldria, a place in which a Dutch governour resides, and which is strong enough to resist any attempts of the neighbouring Moors; it is garrisoned by upwards of ninety Moors, and half a league from shore there is a good anchorage during the south monsoon, at seven fathom and a half water; but the waves breaking out of the bay of Bengal and from the Ganges with great violence, render anchoring very dangerous in the northern monsoon.

About three leagues and a half from the road is a sand-bank stretching into the sea for about the space of a league, where there is no anchorage for shipping at four fathom and a half and five fathoms water: and a little farther off there is another extending two leagues and a half into the sea; but there is no safe anchorage tho' at seven fathom water: however, within the mouth of the river under protection of the castle, lies the city of Armagon, near which is the forest of Siercourdi, whence the city is furnished with wood both for fuel and building. Fish is plenty enough about Paliacatta, but no other species of provision, the ground being sandy and nitrous, unfit to produce any grain: the fortifications hereabouts for a good way being built upon fenny ground are, during the rainy seasons often in danger of being swallowed up by water, and therefore are not maintained but at great expence. The canal leading to Paliacatta is almost



almost dry during the southern monsoon; but during the northern, overflows the land for upwards of two leagues. Under the cannon of Fort Geldria are two villages both inhabited by fishermen, who were converted to the Christian faith by the Portuguese; that on the south side called Diamamy, and that on the north side within musket shot is called Coupon; but the people in both are poor and very ignorant.

The kingdom of Carnatica which falls next under our inspection is sixty Badagarian leagues long, extending from north to south, and forty broad from Paliacatta to the Malabar coast, each league being equal to three Dutch miles. In this country live three naiks or chief lords, who pay a certain yearly tribute to the crown of Velour. These are the vitipanik of Madure, the king's bason-bearer, who pays one thousand two hundred Dutch guilders a year; the chistpanaik of Chengier, the king's betel-box bearer, who pays the same tribute, and the naik of Tanjouwer, his umbrella-bearer, who pays just double. These dignities have been annexed to the provinces wherewith they are mentioned, and descended from father to son for many generations; the possessor being obliged to attend personally in office at every coronation.

About a day's voyage to the north of Paliacatta lie Penna and Caleture, between which places is found a root about a span long, very necessary to the dyers; it is called the essaye-root, and if when broken it appears red on the inside, or has a nitrous taste on being chewed, it is then right good; or if it stand the force of lemon-juice squeezed on the callico wherewith it is tinged and dried in the sun; but if the colour be bad, it will thereupon fade. For the natives who are great sharpers, instead of the original dye, will endeavour to palm

you off with fardaco, and the bark of a tree that grows in Orixá; but they are easily to be known from the true effaye, by their colour being much darker.

From Orixá and Masulipatam are imported nely, rice, gingely seeds, oil, butter, coarse cloths, iron, honey, and yellow wax; the voyages out and home engrossing four months or thereabouts. To Arracan, Pegu, and Tanassery are exported pepper, sandal-wood, stuffs, iron, and steel, at the rate of eight or ten per cent freightage; the returns for which are rubies of Ava, gummi-lacca, long white pepper, lead, &c. Tin is a good commodity among the Moors, for they inlay with it all their copper vessels, and it is brought from Tanangar, Sencaza, and Perach, which are harbours that lie opposite to Achem, betwixt Tanassery and Occeda, towards Malabar.

The city of Petapouli is in a kingdom of the same name, lying in sixteen degrees north latitude; it is not very large, and is peopled by Gentives, which are the king of Golconda's subjects, and some Moors and Persians that are rich: here is good indigo, but it bears a high price; and the Dutch export from hence to Europe, cotton yarn, white stuffs, and some other commodities; their dyed stuffs exceed those of Masulipatam, an excellence which is to be attributed to a superfine effaye colour called tambrevelle, that grows in an isle formed by the river opposite to the city, which the governor monopolizes, paying to the king a certain yearly tribute for it, in dyed stuffs and cloths which he has wove and dyed under his own eye; this root is about a foot long, and of so deep a colour, that to make it more lively, they are forced to mix it with the effaye of Arrical and Ortacour.

Masulipatam is a place of considerable trade, not only for all sorts of European wares, but for  
various

various kinds of commodities brought from China and the Molucca islands. Diamonds are a considerable part of the traffic of this place, they are found in great numbers in the kingdoms of Golconda and Decam, not far from the city of Byfilaga; those who farm the mines have only a right to such stones as weigh twenty-five carats or less, all of a greater weight being engrossed by the king of Byfilaga. The mountain of Costa Uytthia in the country of Decam, affords very fine diamonds, as does also some parts of the island of Borneo. There are also good rubies bought at Masulipatam, where the English and Dutch have very large factories: the city is well peopled, but the governor, who pays a certain yearly tribute to the king of Golconda, oppresses the native Gentives, over whom again the Moors, who farm all the weaving trade from the great men, bear also a very high hand: and he who has a mind to make any advantages of trade here, must obtain the king's patent to that purpose; which is not easily had, as the court is so very distant from hence; besides, securing the interest of his favourites, to complete this end, is vastly expensive.

## C H A P. V.

*A treatise on the virtues and value of the diamonds, rubies, emeralds, sapphirs, amethysts, and various other commodities the produce of the East-Indies.*

HAVING several times mentioned diamonds, rubies, and other precious stones as principal commodities in the traffic of the East, we flatter ourselves that a short chapter, explaining their nature, and illustrating their perfections, will not prove disagreeable to our readers: wherefore we shall begin with the diamond.

If we admit, with some naturalists, that the specific gravity of stones determines their value, as of metals; we must allow, what I believe no body will at this time contradict, that the diamond ought to be preferred to all others; as among stones it is what gold is among metals: it is called *adamas* by the Latins, *deamant* by the Germans, *diamant* by the French, *adamanto* by the Spaniards, *almaes* by the Arabians, *tutan* by the Malabars, and *hiera* and *jua* by the Indostans. It is the hardest and most transparent, as well as the simplest and most homogeneous of all bodies; it is often blemished with black, white, and yellow specks, whereby the value of it is considerably diminished, tho' it requires great skill to perceive them; for which reason those who are not judges of its nature are subject to great imposition.

There is a kind of diamond called *boschiers*, which tho' perhaps brighter than any others, is not by one third so valuable; these are very often clouded with red and yellow spots, whereby their value is much diminished. A diamond can be cut only by a diamond, and the more the powder of it approaches a deep ash or grey colour, the more precious

precious is the stone, that which produces a white powder being of small estimation. Diamonds are also tried by being heated red-hot, and then suddenly plunged in water, when if they are right good, they won't crack. They are sold at so much a carat, and are found in four mines in the kingdoms of Golconda and Vijiapour, and in two rivers, one in the kingdom of Bengal, the other in the island of Borneo. They are not known to be produced in any other parts of the world. The diamond-powder is rank poison; for it penetrates the bowels, so very subtle is its nature.

The ruby is called *rubinus* and *pyropus* in the Latin; in French, *rubis*; by the Siamese, *bassamora*; and *laal* by the Indostans: it is a bright transparent ruddy gem, of considerable hardness, and will resist the fire a long time; the best sort are found in the island of Ceylon, and some chymists pretend, without sufficiently supporting the assertion, to have extracted a tincture from it. The four species of rubies are, first, the true oriental ruby or carbuncle, the most valuable of which has a fine fiery lustre; second, the *basilius*, the red of which is much more faint; thirdly, the *rubiculus*, of a degree of redness between the two former; and fourthly, the *sponalcius* which is softer and less resplendent than the others. There are rubies found also in Germany, but they are much browner than those brought from the East, tho' very hard, consequently less valuable.

They are seldom larger than a sizeable pea, and are very thin, being made still more so by the polisher, with a view to increase their lustre; they are appraised like diamonds by the carat, and valued according to their hardness.

An emerald is a most beautiful green gem, very transparent and glittering, but so brittle as often to crack of itself: it is called in Latin, *smaragdus*;  
in



in Arabic, tamarul; in French, emeraude; and by the Indians, jufche. Emeralds are found as well in Peru, as in the East-Indies; but then those of the latter are much more valuable for lustre and transparency: there are some good ones to be had in Scythia; nor are they unknown to the soil of Ægypt.

For hardness, splendor, and transparency, no gem approaches so near a diamond as a saphir, of which there are two sorts the male and female; the former is of a beautiful sky colour, with a purple refraction; the latter is very pale: they abound in Malabar, Calcut, Ceylon, and Bijnagar; but the very best are said to be the produce of Siam, and Pegu. There are a few accidentally found in Silesia and Bohemia. They are known by the name of milu by the Arabians, and millam by the Mulayans; the French call them also saphir; and it is remarkable the colour may be discharged from the blue saphir, and the stone then looks like diamond.

The amethyst of the East-Indies is reckoned of the finest purple, and preferred to any others. The hyacinth which is found in Spain, is of two kinds, red and yellow, but neither will bear the fire.

Here is a sort of jasper greatly esteemed, in colour like the emerald; and so very large that drinking cups and several pretty knick-knacks are made out of it; some of them are veined with purple, rose colour, blue and dark brown; and these as well as toys made of amber, the succinum of the Latins, are very saleable commodities in many parts of India; the latter is a resinous substance, endued with a sort of attractive power, that operates upon straw, chaff, or any such light matter.

They have a stone in India called cats-eyes, that renders linen to which it is rubbed fire-proof, as the Indians affirm; but a linen draper would suffer

suffer in making the experiment, for this has been proved a vulgar error.

The blood-stone or hæmatites which is found in Ceylon and Cambaya, where it is called *silakenea*, has its name partly from its colour, and partly from its power of staunching blood. It is also common in New-Spain, where the people wear it about their necks in beads; and the women, after having steeped them in cold water a short while, hold them close shut in their hands, which they deem a good remedy against the sanguinary flux of the menses. The nephritis or kidney-stone is of a green colour; and found both in the East and West-Indies, where it is deemed by the inhabitants a remedy against any pain in the kidneys.

The true serpent stone is found in a most venomous kind of serpent called *cobra de cabelo* by the Portuguese; and in Latin, *serpens pilosus*; it is of a dark brown colour with a white spot in the middle, not unlike an eye: some assert that it grows in the head of a serpent, and others say that if the serpent be hung by the tail over a vessel of water, this stone drops from him; it is deemed a remedy against the dropsy if tied to the belly of the person afflicted; if the water, in which the stone is immersed, chances, upon the immersion, to bubble, the stone is then deemed right good, otherwise it is not thought efficacious; it is also accounted good, if it stick to the lips of a wound till it fall off, having imbibed all the poison or virulence from it, which may be again extracted by steeping the stone in milk: and of its virtue in this respect, our author assures us he was an eye witness, having himself seen it applied with good success, to a negro who had been bitten by a serpent. Kircher, in the ninth book of his subterranean world, speaks more at large of this stone and its virtues; but it is to be observed, the Bramins

make

make a certain composition in imitation of the serpent stone, the ingredients of which they keep very secret ; but which are supposed principally to be the serpent's head, heart, teeth, and liver, mixed with terra sigillata.

The *pedra de porco* or hog's stone is sometimes of a grey, sometimes of a ruddy colour, of a bitterish taste, and feels greasy in the hand ; it is steeped in water, till it communicates thereto its bitterness, and that beverage is administered in fevers and other inflammatory disorders, the Indians being strongly prepossessed in favour of its virtues ; it is found in the vesica biliaria of hogs about Malacca. There is some *agat* found in the neighbourhood of Surat, but it is little esteemed unless wrought with figures ; also the *fardonyx*, so called from its resemblance to a man's navel.

The toad-stone is procured by enclosing an old toad in a perforated vessel, and burying it in a dunghill near an ant's nest, to which insect it falls a prey, being all consumed except this stone, which is deemed an excellent remedy against the stone in the kidneys, poison, and stomachic infirmities : it grows in the toad's head, is as large as a bean, and of several colours, particularly green ; the outside of it is smooth and shining, of a bony nature ; but the interior substance appears like the stone. If a tortoise, in the way of which it is purposely laid, passes without taking any notice, it is deemed good for nothing, but his attempting to swallow it, stamps it genuine.

In the stomach of the goats of Persia, and of the island of Borneo, is found the bezoar-stone, formerly reckoned a great antidote, and still accounted medicinal in many cases ; it is a solid substance, of an oval form, of a dark green or olive complexion, and if broken, appears to be composed of several coats, one encrusting the other, something

thing like an onion. It is found by the people of Banda in the head of an ape. The Chinese and Indians take it in rose-water as a specific against poison, the hypochondria and quartan agues; and after having purged, which they do constantly twice a year, they take from ten to thirty grains of bezoar by way of preservative and strengthener.

This stone is sold by the carat for three times its weight in gold; and the Malagans say, the stone that don't turn mortar, to which it is rubbed, yellow, is not good; it is also tried by drawing a needle and thread tinged with some very subtle poison thro' the leg of a dog; to which when it is just fainting, a small quantity of bezoar powder is administered; and if it don't immediately recover him, the stone is deemed adulterated.

This stone takes its name of Belzoar or Bezoar, from the Persians, in whose language it signifies lord of poison; and by the Arabians it is called Hagiar Corralione. When the first coat is stripped off, the second appears more smooth and bright; there is a mealy substance contained in the center of it, deemed more efficacious than the powder of the stone; it is found in the goats of the Peruvian mountains as well as those of the East-Indies, and is wrapt up in a hairy sort of bag, of about a span long, that grows in the concavity of the stomach; nor are those of the low countries near equal in goodness to those of the hills.

As indigo is a principal commodity in the Indian trade, it will be necessary to say something of its nature and properties before we finish this chapter.

There are many species of Indigo which grow in different places; it is a shrub about the height of a man, having a small hard twig like the blackberry bush; its blossom resembles that of the briar,

ar, and the seed is like that of the *fænum græcum*. It is sown in June and July, and reaped in November and December. The broad sort grows at the village of Chircees, whence it derives its name, two leagues from the city of Amadabath, the capital of Gufurat; it bears three crops in three years, after which it is good for little; nor are the second and third year's crops esteemed so valuable as the first. The first year the leaves are cut about a foot above the ground, and after being dried twenty-four hours in the sun they are put into barrels of salt water, and the tincture pressed out with large stones laid on them to a great weight for four or five days, during which the water is kept in constant motion, and then it is drawn off into larger vessels, where it is kept continually stirring and trodden down till the water becomes thick, and the indigo falls to the bottom: then it is separated from the water, strained thro' thin cloths, and being covered with white ashes spread on the ground to dry. The country people adulterate it either with oil, or with an earth of the same colour, to make it seem the better upon the water.

The chief signs of the goodness of indigo are its being light and dry, its swimming upon the water, and emitting, if thrown upon the fire, a violet-coloured smoke, and leaving behind it but few ashes. The ground appropriated to the produce of indigo must lie fallow the fourth year, unless you chuse to sow it with kitchen herbs. There is a sort of indigo called by the people of Gufurat Amiel de Biant; it grows chiefly in the rainy seasons, June, July, August, and September, tho' too much rain is pernicious to it; the ground about it must be well cleared of thistles and thorns, and great care must be taken in the purchase of it to see that it be right dry, otherwise the buyer may lose three pounds out of ten in eight or nine days.



days. The indigo laura or the indigo de bayana is of three different species; the first called Vouthy is of a light blue colour, and appears of a violet colour if squeezed in the sun upon the thumb nail; the second is called Gerry, and is the more valuable the nearer it approaches the violet complexion; the third called Cateol is the worst of all, and is of a ruddy hue, and almost too hard to be broken.

## C H A P. VI.

*The reasons of the Europeans in the East-Indies being disordered so very frequently: methods to be taken to preserve health in this climate: the tea-shrub described, and the methods used to preserve it: its physical virtues compared with those of coffee and chocolate: the manner in which the Europeans drink, sleep, and eat, and divide their time here: the rise and course of the rivers Ganges and the Nile described.*

WE shall conclude this account of Malabar and Coromandel with our author's narrative of the Dutch manner of living in the East-Indies; but before we proceed upon it, it is necessary to premise, that the heats which are excessive would be intollerable, were they not allayed by the sea breeze, which is surprisngly refreshing and cool; for which reason the many distempers that affect the Europeans in these parts, is rather to be attributed to their own intemperance and debauchery than to the inclemency of the climate. To lie in bed here after sun-rise is not deemed wholesome, wherefore they are generally up early; and some immediately upon their rising wash themselves from head to foot, either in cold or in luke-warm water; but our author rather advises the latter as

more wholesome: they also shift their linen every day; and those who have a special regard to their health abstain from strong liquors, and take only a spoonful of brandy before dinner, and a little at night before they go to bed.

Tea is greatly used among them; it is a Chinese shrub that does not rise to any great height; the flower of which is dried, rolled up, and laid by for use. In the beginning of summer it bears a light-coloured blossom, of a very agreeable scent; to which succeeds a green bud, that at length turns black: the leaf after being gently warmed in an iron pot, is spread upon a clean mat, where it is rolled up and then put over the fire again till it is thoroughly dry; after which process it is put up carefully in canisters of lead or tin, close shut, to prevent the air getting to it, which would soon corrupt it, and it is laid by for use. It is of different sorts, and priced according to its goodness; it exhilarates the spirits, and disperses the oppressions of the stomach and heaviness of the head. Kircher attributes to it a diuretick quality; and the Chinese imagine that to it is owing their never having the gout.

Tea is more mild in its nature than either coffee or chocolate, for the latter inflames the blood and gives a plethora, and the former increases the gall; yet too much tea is bad, especially if taken after meals, because it hinders the concoction of the stomach, and dries up the moisture of the body; for which reason the Chinese never drink it after meals: four or five cups of the extract of the tea leaf, just gathered, generally make the head giddy.

The best common drink in this climate is water and sugar boiled together; and three or four glasses of strong mountain wine thrown into an earthen vessel and left to stand all night in the dew, affords

a very

a very pleasant liquor, but rather too cool; wherefore it is not amiss to temper it with good mum, which drinks much better here than in Europe, but it is extremely dear, being sold sometimes for a hundred rix-dollars per cask. Spanish wines are in most esteem here, the stomach in these hot countries requiring a stronger cordial than either French or Rhenish wines can communicate; tho' the former are sometimes inflammatory. Goats, sheep, hares, peacocks, and other fowl, are the common food in these countries.

The middle of the day being, because of the heat, very unfit for business, is generally spent in sleep, which is certainly wholesome, the temperature of the air disposing the body to drowsiness: after dinner the mouth ought always to be washed; tea is generally taken in an afternoon about four o'clock; and the evening, which is cool and pleasant, especially if the moon shines, makes a walk very agreeable. The time of supper is about eight, and about ten, or perhaps eleven, they go to sleep upon quilts, feather-beds not being used here; however, the soldiers and seamen often suffer severely from the cramp, which is very apt to assail them, more especially when they are heated with arrack or other strong liquors, if they do not cover closely their belly, hips, and legs.

Having described to you the manner of living of the Dutch, and it is much the same with the practice of other Europeans who inhabit this climate; it might, perhaps, be expected that we should say something particular of the manners and religions of the natives; but this is an account which we reserve for another place.

As we have mentioned the Ganges in many places as one of the principal rivers in India, we shall

shall wind up this chapter with a few words relative to it and the river Nile.

The Ganges divides the easterly from the westerly part of India ; it was thought by St. Austin, St. Jerom, and some others of the fathers to be the same with the Pison of holy writ ; but this opinion has been sufficiently disproved by Cornelius a Lapide. This great river disembogues itself into the sea of Bengal, called Sinus Gangeticus and Sinus Argaricus by Ptolemy : Kircher affirms its source to be Mount Thebeth, where he says the Indus, the Bavi, and the Ather also take their rise ; but the more general received opinion is, that the head of the river Ganges is in Mount Caucasus. The Indians deduce its origin from heaven, wherefore they call it the heavenly river, and imagine that washing in it cleanses from sin, a point wherein the people of Bengal are so very superstitious, that they carry their dying friends hither and bath them, the sick man crying out, “ Ganges purify me, Ganges cleanse me from sin.”

That water was a purifier from sin, seems to have been the opinion not only of the heathens, but of the Jews in general, which appears from Pilate's washing to avoid any guilt that might be imputed to him from condemning Jesus Christ, at the desire of the people ; and here are people who make a trade of carrying the water of the Ganges about for sale, in the same manner as our Spaw water is sold, for which they get a very good price, and pay a heavy custom.

The Persians deem it a crime to throw carrion into, or even to spit in the river, and they believe that for one single year, that the bones of their ancestors which are thrown into this river remain in it, their souls shall enjoy bliss a thousand years ; and if the bones remain ten years, the soul shall enjoy heaven ten thousand, and so in proportion.

Kircher

Kircher places the original spring of the Nile in the country of Agoas near Sagela, bordering upon the kingdom of Gojam; others, and it is the most generally received opinion, believe it to be among the mountains of the moon, near the Cape of Good Hope, on the African coast. It is supposed to arise in a plain on the top of a mountain, surrounded by delightful trees, but not to gather into a rivulet till at the foot of the mountain, where being greatly increased by other adventive streams, it forms a lake thirty miles long and fourteen broad, from whence it pursues a long meandering course, till it returns to the neighbourhood of its source, where rushing over many rocks and precipices, it forces its way into the middle of Ethiopia: it was held in such veneration by the antient Egyptians, that they called it the arm of Osiris, their principal god; for the Pagans, it is well known, not only made gods of the elements, but paid divine honours to their rivers also.



A DESCRIPTION of the Island of CEYLON,  
with a short Review of the Disputes  
therein between the Portuguese and  
the Dutch. Extracted from the Ac-  
count of PHILIP BALDÆUS.

C H A P. I.

*The situation, extent, and different names of Ceylon, supposed by some to be the original Paradise: of its different kinds of commodities: a political and religious character of the natives: an account of the king of Ceylon's residence; the strength of it: of poisonous rivers: of the divisions, villages, and churches of Jafnapatnam: of a curious sort of turtle-dove: of the food of the wild elephant: of the success of the schools erected for the instruction of youth: sacred interludes play'd by the Jesuits to entertain and teach the people.*

AFTER having given a general account of the climate, commodities and division of the island of Ceylon, we shall proceed to say something of the antient government of it under its kings, and the various revolutions that have happened therein, since its having been first discovered by the Portuguese, of which our author gives a very impartial account; and this he was well enabled to do, because he attended the Dutch camp at the time that the Hollanders wrested the jurisdiction of this island out of the hands of Portugal; and was, with respect to such particulars





as did not fall immediately under his observation, a very exact and curious inquirer.

The island of Ceylon, by some supposed to be the Taprobana of the antients, tho' others believe it to have been Sumatra, is situated in the Indian sea, between the sixth and tenth degree of north latitude, and seventy-eight and eighty-two degrees of east longitude, about forty-five leagues east of Cape Comoryn: it is, by the best computation at this day, judged to be two hundred and fifty miles long and two hundred broad; it is shaped like a ham, and was supposed to have been formerly joined to the main land, from which it is divided only by a narrow streight, but that the connexion has been broken off by the depredations of the sea. It has many commodious harbours, and is divided into several kingdoms, the principal of which are Candea, where the king, who among other titles assumes that of Lord of the Golden Sun, takes up his residence, Jafnapatnam, Botecalo, and Colombo, where the Dutch have their chief settlement, and their governor resides.

The Indians distinguish this island by the name of Tenaſirim, which signifies the land of delight; and they imagine that it was the seat of Paradise, shewing the mark of a foot impressed upon a rock, of which we shall hereafter speak more at large; whence they believe Adam mounted to heaven. It was discovered by the Portuguese in the year 1509, and they kept possession of it more than a century. It is extremely fertile, producing every thing almost that is useful to human nature; great part of it is covered with forests of citron, oranges and cinnamon, the odour of which diffuses itself to the distance of some leagues at sea. There is variety of valuable gems to be found here, but no diamonds; its pearls are not so good as those of Ormus or Tute Coryn, but its ivory, of which there is

here vast plenty, is reckoned the best in the world. There are extensive mines of iron and copper, nor is it thought destitute of gold and silver.

The natives of Ceylon are extremely active, being deemed the best vaulters in the world. The common people go naked, except a slight covering on the privities; but the better sort wear long garments of very slight superfine cloth, which they ornament with jewels; they are of a fierce warlike disposition, and when taught, handle their swords, muskets, bows, arrows, and javelins with great dexterity. The skin of the crocodile, which is to be found here very common, serves them for bucklers, and are proof against a musket-shot. On the backs of their elephants they build little wooden towers, capable of containing five or six soldiers, whence they annoy their enemies with success, being very good marksmen: they are most of them idolaters, tho' intermixed with some Mahometans, who are allowed free exercise of their religion, and a few Christians.

About one fourth of the island of Ceylon is distinguished by the name of Candea, or Candy: most of the country round it, is now in the hands of the Dutch; in spite of whom the king still keeps possession of this territory, which is on every side surrounded by very high mountains, and covered with thick forests; so that the passes leading to it are narrow and difficult, and his majesty takes care to keep them well guarded, not only to prevent the approach of foreigners, but the egress of his own subjects; wherefore this tract of land is at present but little known. It is divided into several districts; well watered by rivers that are poisonous, and their course not navigable, being often broken by ridges of rocks; yet they fertilize the lands thro' which they pass; whereon are to be found good vines, variety of pulse, &c. on the banks of the chief of these



these, which is called Trinquelemale, stands the city of Candea, about thirty leagues from the sea.

Jasnapatnam is populous and fertile, supposed to be about six German leagues long, and three broad; it is a peninsula washed to the northward by the gulf of Bengal, and having a pleasant river to the southward, which takes two different courses to the ocean. It is divided into four provinces, called Belligamme, Tenmarache, Waddamarache, and Patchiarapalle: in the first of these are fourteen churches; the principal of which, called Telipoli, has a house belonging to it, and a school in which a thousand children were instructed by our author and his assistants in the principles of Christianity; they have good gardens and pleasant vineyards annexed, which are well watered, and planted with all sorts of Indian fruit, planted by the Jesuits. Here Baldæus informs us, that he preached several times, and often to an audience of two thousand people.

At some distance is the church of Magallam, with an adjoining house raised upon arches, and a good pair of stairs reaching to the top; it was begun by the Portuguese, but finished by the Dutch, being of brick work, and having a school of two hundred boys.

The church of Mayletti, which has a school of seven hundred and fifty boys, is of stone, as is the house belonging to it; from a balcony on the top of which there is an extensive sea-prospect, the situation being not more than half a mile from the sea-side; consequently it is not surprising that crabs, soles, and various other kinds of fish abound here; besides which, there are fine hares and partridges.

The village of Achiavelli is finely situated among woods, in which are plenty of stags, hares, and wild-boars; serpents are very troublesome here;

but they have a kind of turtle-dove, which cooes so very regularly, that the inhabitants need no other clock. Here is a lofty stone church, capable of holding two thousand persons, and a school of more than four hundred boys. As there were many antient Bramins resident here in our author's time, the progress of Christianity was slow; but one of them, who was a man of great learning, being converted in the 46th year of his age, wrote a fine poem in the Hancreet language, which is the best kind of Malabar, upon the life and death of our Saviour.

The soil of Ondewil, where there is a school of six hundred boys, and a church and house formerly belonging to a Franciscan friar, is fertile, producing good rice and other provisions; as also do the fields about Batecotte, which stands near the salt river, and has a large school, with a good church and an adjoining house, adorned with pleasant gardens.

There are many more villages, each having its church, which it would be tedious to enumerate; wherefore we shall only observe, that those of Manipay and Nalour, not far from Jasnapatnam have churches built of clay, and covered with palm-leaves, each having been formerly the station of a pagode; nor are the inhabitants so mild and capable of instruction as their neighbours; which difference of disposition can, by our author, be accounted for no other way than by their having been corrupted by some callico weavers, transplanted hither from the continent who succeed but poorly, because the water is not very fit for their use. The people are pagans, spiteful and superstitious; nor is it easy to teach the boys that frequent the schools, who are naturally very dull of apprehension.

There are five villages with their respective churches in the province of Tenmarache; the first  
of

of which called Navacouli, is built only of clay, covered with palm-leaves; it is situated in a fruitful plain, and the neighbouring woods are full of venison and wild-fowl, as well as many apes and monkeys.

The village of Chavagatzery lies at some distance; it is the largest in this province; here is plenty of fish, fine gardens well stocked with fruit, and the people maintain themselves by fishing and agriculture. In the school of Chavagatzery are above a thousand boys.

The road to Cathay is sandy and fatiguing; the church and house are of clay covered with leaves; but the place abounds with snipes, herons, Indian ravens, &c. and there are several ponds well-stored with wild-ducks.

Waranni is situated in a sandy soil; the ways leading to it are heavy and tiresome; it is remarkable for the best water melons in India; and all round are very fine woods of arecca, coco, palm, banano, mangos, cajou, and guaiavo-trees. The church, fitted for two thousand five hundred auditors, is but slenderly built: however, it is surrounded by a wall of earth; and the house adjoining has a good entrance and some handsome apartments.

The church of Illondi Matual is only of clay; but the house is of stone, with high steps and a spacious hall; it belongs to the village of Nagar Kojel, where was formerly a famous pagode, and which has great numbers of peacocks; as also some tame elephants, maintained for the use of the Dutch factory. Wild elephants are sometimes seen in this precinct.

In the province of Waddemarache are only three churches, with their respective villages and houses. Provisions are so cheap in this province that you may buy a sheep for the value of eight pence, six-

ty eggs for three pence, and four pullets for five pence.

The church and house of Catavelli are built of brick; and from a summer-house in the garden, the top whereof is flat, there is a fine land-prospect.

The church of Uneputti has an auditory of near nine hundred persons; and in the school there are upwards of six hundred children, who are taught to draw their letters in sand: but the village is inhabited by a lawless set of thieves of the Nalloas race, who have among them very little religion.

The most spacious and beautiful church in the whole province of Waddemarache is that of Pariture, so called from the plenty of cotton-shrubs growing hereabouts; the word Pariture implying cotton-harbour in the Malabar language: it is called by the Portuguese Punta des Pedras. At this place a flag is displayed as soon as any ships are discovered at sea, to guide them into the road, where there is safe anchorage, except in the time of the northern monsoon.

In very hot days, our author informs us, he used to preach under an umbrageous tamarind-tree, which afforded his auditory a most agreeable shade.

Patchiarapalla is the fourth and last province of Jafnapatnam, the inhabitants of which are very poor, feeding chiefly upon dried fish and a little rice; they are much afflicted with the itch and small-pox, and are often troubled with a malignant fever, the turns whereof depend upon the moon, and which is very fatal. Many of their children are carried off by a swelling in the groin and belly; and they are plagued with wild-elephants, which resort hither in numbers to feed upon the palm-tree fruit, of which they are very fond, and on which the poorer sort of inhabitants also feed.

This province abounds with jagers or hunter's wood; and here are women who make a trade of blowing

blowing into certain mugs, called calangs, as if into a trumpet, from whence arises an inharmonious sort of music. There are four churches and villages in this division; the first of which Poelepolay, is surrounded by a high wall, and has port-holes like a fortification, to defend it from the incursions of the Cingalese, who are sometimes troublesome.

The church of Mogommale is built in a wood; but that of Jambamme, which has nine hundred auditors, and a school containing five hundred boys, is the largest in the whole province. The last church of the four is that of Mulipatto, about a day's journey from Jafnapatnam; it has port-holes for its defence; but it is low and meanly built. Before we quit the territory of Jafnapatnam, it is necessary to observe, that most of the churches were founded by the Portuguese; and that adjoining to each is a theatre, wherein the Jesuits and other of the Roman clergy used to instruct and divert the people with interludes taken from the bible.



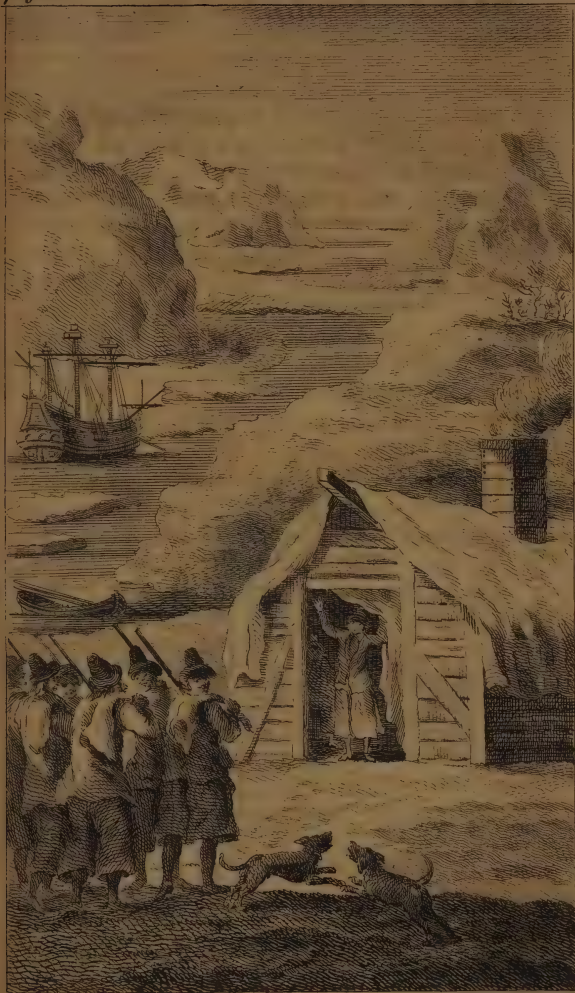
## C H A P. II.

*Of a terrible tempest and flood in the island of Ourature: the chair of Donna Ciara a large one: a description of the islands of Ourature, Caradiva, Pongardiva, Analativa, Nainativa, and Ninundiva: the great danger of approaching the last of these: a spring of fresh water caused by thunder: number of Christians in Jafnapatnam: some account of the manners of the Bramins, the Bellales, the Chitteis, the Paruas, the Pereas, the Chivias, and several other tribes.*

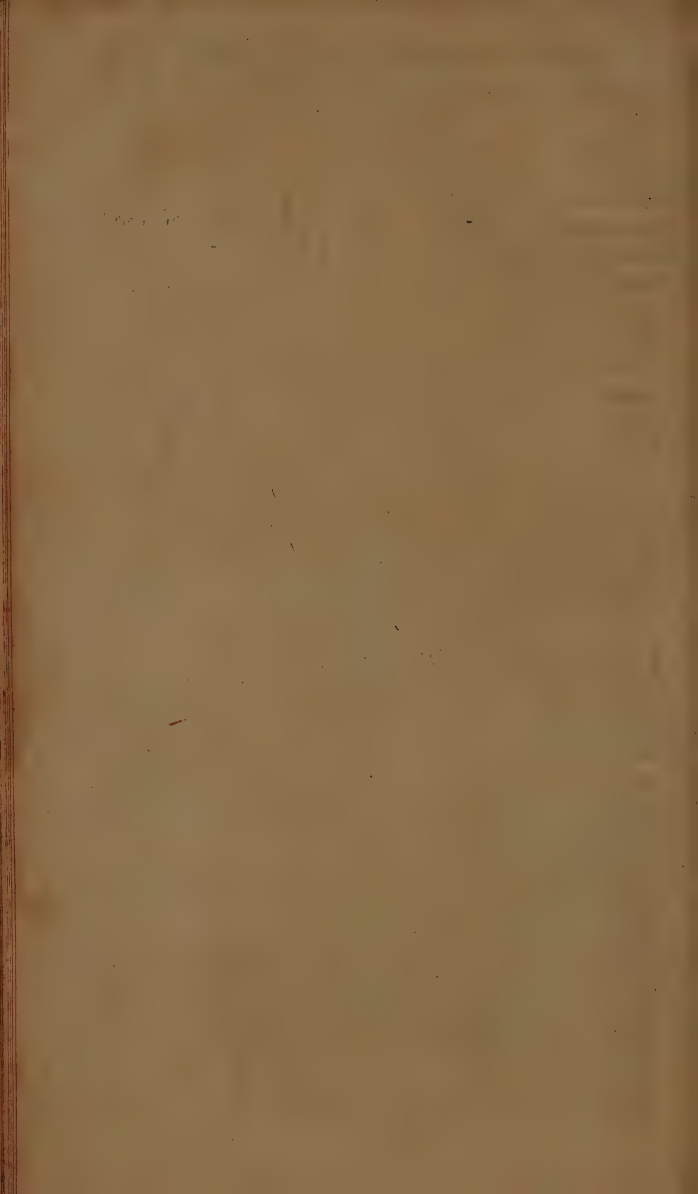
WE shall now proceed to take a view of the six adjacent little islands; the first of which, called Ourature, abounds with stags and fish, and plenty of a red dye called saye. It is said there is good butter here, and variety of larks and sea-gulls. This island hath three churches, the auditory of which, taken all together, amount to two thousand six hundred people: it has been often subject to great floods; and in a tempest that happened here in 1658, trees were torn up by the roots, houses uncovered, and the water, which bore down all that stood in its way, left behind on its retiring a great quantity of fish.

On the island of Caradiva, which is separated only by a river from Ourature, is a stone church and a good house; it produces the best saye in all India; and together with a neighbouring isle, called by the Portuguese Ilha Deserta, supplies the Dutch ships with wood for firing; but both abound with very venomous serpents.

The natives of Pongardiva are very tall; the island is large but the ground rocky, and not over fruitful: however, here are great quantities of peacocks,



*A View of Winter's Forrest.* *T. Jefferys sculp*



peacocks, stags, hares; and large oysters, with other sorts of fish, are caught on every side of the island.

There are plenty of delicious oysters found also upon the island of Analativa, whereon are about a thousand inhabitants, reckoning men, women, and children. It was called in the time of the Portuguese Donna Clara, after a lady of that name, who was for some time proprietor of it, and whose chair, big enough to contain two people, is still shewn in remembrance of her.

Nainativa is a very small island inhabited by Christians, who were formerly Bramins, and lead very regular lives. It has a small church, and abounds with jackalls. The last of these is called Ninundiva, or the Long Isle, called by the Portuguese the Cow Land, on account of the abundance of cattle transported hither from Tonday; they are not large indeed, but special good and very cheap, selling for half a rixdollar each.

The soil often produces herbs of so venomous a nature, that feeding thereon sweeps off the whole herds; and our author spent eight days at one time here, when provisions were so scarce that he and his company had like to have been starved: the inhabitants are very wretched, and their diet generally miserable. The coast all round is so rocky that there is no coming to land, except in very calm weather, which happens twice a-year at the change of the monsoon. Here are to be seen the ruins of a fort formerly belonging to the Portuguese, who imported hither some horses, which have multiplied extremely, and are small but hardy, and well calculated to travel on stony ground. Here is a species of goats which produce bezoar stones, but they are not the best in the world. There is but one spot in the whole isle that produces fresh water, and this is a cleft among the rocks, caused, if you'll believe the tales of the inhabitants,

habitants, by a thunder-bolt, wherein there are two or three springs of half a foot and a foot deep. The inhabitants are near eleven hundred in number. Our author reckons, that in the year 1663 there were sixty-two thousand five hundred and fifty-eight Christians in the province of Jafnapatnam and its precincts, besides two thousand five hundred and eighty-seven slaves, who were not ignorant of Christian principles.

As the Bramins challenge the first rank among the Pagans, so do the Bellales among the native Christians: they have a strip of cloth wrapt round the navel, and turning down round the thighs and some part of the leg like drawers; they have thick soles fastened under their feet, which are left bare to prevent the inconveniencies of sweating. In a bag called maddi, hanging just before them, they carry betel and arecca; on their right side they have a sheathed knife, with a piece of steel whereon to sharpen it, and an iron pen tipped with silver; their ears, which they draw down to their shoulders, they adorn with golden pendants; and their wealth consists of cows, oxen, sheep, goats, and buffaloes. Their habitations are very neat; and their gardens handsomely laid out, and well watered. October and November make their winter and rainy season; and their harvest is in January and February, tho' in some places where the ground is low and marshy, they have two harvests in the year. While the rains continue, for the space of two months incessantly, they are extremely violent, and the lands are all overflowed; but there is scarcely any wet weather during the rest of the year; wherefore they are obliged to water even their cocoa-trees till they are six years old. The ground at two feet deep is very rocky, out of which to cut springs of fresh water is very chargeable and troublesome.

They



## AND THE DISPUTES THERE. 61

They are fond of butter, which is made with a sort of mill like that wherewith chocolate is prepared for the palate, and of curdled milk which they call tayr, and administer in fevers and the small-pox as a cooler. The Bellales in general are rich, litigious, and envious; they generally marry in spring, in this circumstance imitating the Romans, who used to wed in May. They take wives, each in his own clan or family. They marry off their daughters at ten or eleven years of age; for they deem it a sin to lose any part of that time in which they imagine it to be in their power to contribute to the increase of society; they deem a single man, arrived at the years of maturity, a scandal to his species; and, as no body will take a woman to wife without a portion, nothing is commoner than to see a collection made to portion off the poorer sort of girls. They keep their weddings for four or five days, feasting and making merry; but not using strong liquors: and before the door of the house is erected a triumphal arch of fig-tree and pomegranate branches, intermingled with flowers. The bride's tali or bracelet is put round the neck of the bridegroom: and on the coast of Coromandel, when he dies, this tali is burned with him. If a girl happens to have her monthly courses before she is married, she stands but a bad chance of having a husband; for if it is discovered, no body will ask her the question.

Tho' many of the Bramins profess Christianity, they still retain several marks of idolatry, such as never feeding on any thing that has been animated. They are very moral and sober, civil, industrious, and obliging; they drink nothing strong, eat but little at a time, bathe twice a-day, are much addicted to venery, and great enemies to incest; yet such is their respect for their own generation, that they will wed nieces and nephews sooner than seek  
a wife

a wife in another family : most of them are astronomers, acquainted with the motions of the stars and planets, and capable of calculating eclipses. Some of them are of opinion, that all souls were created in the beginning, and given in their turns to animate their respective bodies ; nor do they reject the doctrine of the transmigration of souls. This is an opinion which strongly prevails almost over all parts of India as well as here.

The tribe of Chivias used formerly to attend the service of the king, but now they are hewers of wood, drawers of water, and bearers of burthens to the Dutch. They are very strong, and good litter-carriers ; but in this occupation they are very proud, for they would not at any rate be hired to carry any but the best people. The Paruas are pretty active, and speak most of them Portuguese ; they are excellent divers, but do not inhabit in such numbers on the island of Ceylon, as about Tutecoryn and other parts of the continent.

The word Chitty signifies a merchant, and there is a tribe bearing this name, which deals much in linen and handicraft trades ; the people of this tribe are very crafty, and the father educates his son in his own business ; thus weaving, building, working on the sod, &c. are hereditary occupations. Near the banks of the salt-river, and the sea-shore of Jafnapatnam live the Careas, who are fishermen ; as are also those of the tribe of Mokkuas.

The nastiest among all these people, and approaching nearest the Hottentots, are the Nallouas, who are very black, and slaves to the Bellales, for whom they dig the ground, water the trees, manage the cattle, and do other menial offices. They are so very dirty in themselves, that they may be traced by their smell like a fox. The Paruas are not behind them in filthiness or menial employments ; they feed on rats and mice, carry out dung,  
and

and are certainly the most despicable race of people in the world. Perhaps no people on earth are treated so haughtily as the lower sort are by their superiors, to whom they are obliged in the streets to pay the profoundest reverence: the women are also kept in great subjection, not being permitted to sit at table with their husbands. None of all these tribes will eat cows flesh, deeming the creature, as the Egyptians formerly did, sacred.

For a general character of them, it may be said, that they are abstemious in their eating, not fond of liquor, naturally ingenious, and blessed with strong memories; they are clean in their apparel, except the two tribes particularly stigmatized; not inclined to be quarrelsome, but apt to be abusive; they are superstitious with respect to omens, and much inclined to adultery and fornication.

Here are courts of judicature where pleading is allowed, and advocates are often found here, as well as in England, making long speeches to little purpose. Their physicians, knowing little of physic or anatomy, give fresh herbs of a certain composition for a purge, and allay the force of it, if it prove too strong, by clapping a poultice of pepper steeped in water to the navel, which is good against a looseness and bellyach.

They have barbers, who are not only expert at shaving the head and face, but are also good at paring the toe-nails and cleansing the ears; they carry with them small mirrors, and their razors are thicker on the back than ours.

Their weavers sit to work on the ground, wherein there is a hole dug for their feet. Their painters have such an art in staining callicoes that the colours will never wash out; but those of Masulipatan are much brighter. They have artists who manifest great taste in their working upon gold, silver, ivory, or ebony; and few places in Europe have  
better

better carpenters, smiths, or bricklayers, tho' their wages are hardly more than six-pence per day.

There is a very stately pagode at Trinquenemale, which serves as a land-mark to the ships; and here also is the largest and most commodious harbour in the whole island of Ceylon: it was several times relinquished during the disputes in India between the Dutch and English, and the fortifications as often repaired; tho' at one time the Hollanders who garrisoned the place under command of Peter Wash, were attacked by a frenzy that urged many of them to leap into the sea, where they were drowned, and on their being opened, there appeared certain little maggots infesting the coats of the brain, produced as was thought by fatigue, heat, and eating salt meat, as well as by the cold damp fogs that generally fell after night-fall. To these worms was attributed this fatal disorder. Of Battecalo, Columbo, and some other important places in this island we shall find an opportunity of speaking hereafter, the present sheets being dedicated to a more general subject.

## C H A P. III.

*Superb pagodes of Ceylon: a strange opinion of the natives with respect to one of the finest of the island: an account of Adam's Peak, and the measurement of his foot; extraordinary honours paid to it: the Bramins of Ceylon more particularly described: their dress, manner of living, and public processions: a general character of the heathen inhabitants of this island, called Cingalese: some strange customs peculiar to them: the different dresses of the people, the various products of the island, and an account of the manner of preparing cinnamon.*

**N**O island abounds more with pagodes, and those generally very splendid, than Ceylon: there is one particularly at Vintane, one hundred and thirty feet in circumference at the foundation; it is very high, the top being crowned with a gilt pyramid, which may be discerned at a vast distance; within it stands an idol, representing a man with a drawn sword in his hand, his arm being upraised as if going to strike: to this the Cingalese pay adoration, and are firmly persuaded that this world will be near an end when this temple decays.

It is common to meet on the roads little brick houses, in which are fixed elephant-heads, which they also worship, praying to them for wisdom; their idols are generally adorned with garlands of flowers, particularly one, being the figure of a man, at least six yards high, cut out of a rock which lies near Belligamme, not far from which is the mountain supposed to be the highest in India, called Adam's Peak, whereon, they pretend to tell you Adam was created.

They



They shew a mark here, shaped like a man's foot, a yard and a half long, three quarters broad, and one quarter deep, which they tell you was impressed here by him when he went thence to heaven, as we before observed : it is surrounded with silver ; and the poor deluded people believe that a drop of water gathered from it, serves as an expiation for all their sins ; near it stands a magnificent temple, into which no body enters without carrying ten or a dozen lighted candles, or more, according to their abilities : when they depart, they carry with them some of this water in bamboe canes, for the use of such of their friends as have no opportunity of going thither in person.

The king and all his court make a pilgrimage hither once a-year ; and having used the water, and paid their devotions, they conclude the night with feasting and dancing. The priests preserve a golden plate, of the length and breadth of the same foot, whereon are engraven sixty-eight emblematical figures, which formerly, say they, were to be seen upon the said foot, but vanished as soon as they were copied. This mountain is almost inaccessible, and those who adventure to climb it are assisted by iron spikes, and chains fastened therein for that purpose.

The Bramins, who are very regular and abstemious livers, have many convents scattered thro' the island, their heads are shaven, and they have yellow habits ; they always carry beads in their hands, and mutter prayers ; but never appear in the streets without an umbrello. In different niches about their chapels they place the images of such people, either men or women, as they are pleased to say, have led holy lives : and before them they place wax tapers and lamps, held by boys neatly carved. They have certain hours of prayers like the Popish friars, and are as exact in observing them.

There

There are certain public days in which the abbot of each convent goes thro' the streets in procession, in great pomp, being mounted on an elephant sumptuously caparisoned, with an umbrella over his head, and preceded by horns, trumpets, tabors, and such other musical instruments; before him dance several maidens of quality, naked to the middle, their heads, ears, and arms ornamented with bracelets of gold and jewels, and their petticoats of different colours.

We cannot say however that the Cingalese, for so are the pagan inhabitants of Ceylon in general called, are very obstinate or averse to rational conviction, since numbers of them have been, by dint of argument, converted to Christianity. They are commonly ready-witted, excellent artisans, and good soldiers, careful observers of order, and not easily intimidated; their converse with the Europeans has sharpened their intellects very much; for which reason they are not to be despised, nor yet should they be much relied upon: they are well fitted for war, and of special service in a route, marching one by one, because of the narrow defiles abounding in the country, being armed with half-pikes, and using a small shrill drum that may be heard among the hills at three leagues distance.

If a husband goes a long journey, it is usual for him to desire his brother to share the nuptial bed during his absence; nor is it unusual for a woman to complain if not duly attended in such circumstances, for they do not think there is any thing criminal in such an incestuous commerce. Our author tells us, that he knew a woman loudly complain, that a brother to whose care her husband committed her, did not pay sufficient attention to the nuptial duty. The Cingalese have long ears, loaded with rings and jewels; they are not unlike the Malabars; the common people go naked, with  
only

only their privities covered with a piece of callico. Among the better sort the men wear a light linen or woollen vest, and a piece of linen wrapped round their navels, and coming between their legs, with a red cap on their heads, which they esteem as a particular ornament, calling it the rock-cap. At their sides they carry swords or scymitars, the hilts of which are curiously wrought in gold, silver, or ivory.

The women adorn their fingers and toes with gold and silver rings; and on their necks are necklaces of the same metals. Instead of a head-dress they plat their hair, and their breasts are quite uncovered; they are most of them well proportioned and handsomely limb'd. They marry as many wives as they can maintain, boast much of their families and high blood, and are vastly addicted to idleness, insolence, and pleasure. It has been hitherto found impossible to dissuade them from marrying girls of ten or eleven years old; they say they do it to be sure of having a virgin. They are very neat in their houses and household-furniture, using the fig-tree leaf instead of table-cloths and trenchers; their spoons are made of cocoa nut-shells, and their drinking-vessels are of earth, with pipes like tea-pots thro' which they suck the liquor. Their current coins are the silver laryn, worth about ten pence; the fanym, worth five-pence; and the pagode, valued at six Dutch gilders; two silver fanymys at five-pence each make a laryn.

This island produces ripe grapes almost all the year; it abounds with sugar-canes, fig and mulberry-trees, whereon is generated a good deal of silk; also ginger, pepper, cardamum, tobacco, and the wild palm; the calabass, cotton, and arecattree, with divers sorts of mangos, melons, onions, and garlic. The Dutch have planted asparagus, carrots, cabbage, and many other sorts of European

pean vegetables, which thrive here to admiration. But Ceylon is more particularly happy in producing superfine cinnamon, which is scarcely found in any other part of the habitable world. This valuable spice is good against many disorders, being a strengthner of the bowels and stomach, a great astringent, and an excellent cephalic; it affords an oil which is efficacious in divers extemporaneous cases; but being extremely dear, the genuine sort is not very common in Europe: it is pressed from the cinnamon fruit, but of late the chymists in England have found a way of distilling an oil from the common cinnamon, which answers the same end in medicinal cases, and has been found nearly of equal influence.

The fruit of this tree is yellowish, and it rises out of a white blossom, the scent of which is very pleasing; the leaves resemble those of the lemon-tree, but they are not quite so large. The first bark being removed with a crooked knife, the rind lying beneath it is cut first round, then in length, and afterwards left to dry in the sun, where it shrinks into those small rolls which we see in Europe. When the tree is thus stripped it perishes; but from the fruit being implanted, others arise: the wood is white, and used by the inhabitants for building.

The cinnamon-trees grow singly, scattered among other woods, and never in groupes; neither is it to be found in every part of the island, there being no trace of it in Jafnapatnam, nor in the isle of Mannar. From the cinnamon wood, yet green, there is an agreeable wholesome water distilled, and this wood thrown into the fire sends forth a most odoriferous smell: the natives also make several pretty pieces of furniture out of it, but particularly cabinets, which are held in some estimation. It is to be remarked, that tho' physicians and naturalists agree

## 70 DESCRIPTION OF CEYLON,

agree that cinnamon is hot, yet from its root may be drawn a water endued with the scent of all the qualities of camphire.

There are three species of cinnamon in the East-Indies, the first and finest called by the Portuguese *canel-fino* is that which is taken from the young, or at least the middle-aged tree; *canel-grosso* is the second or coarser sort, stripped from an old tree; and the last which is scarcely of any value, tho' some of the natives pretend to affirm it might be meliorated, is called *canel de mato* or wild cinnamon, and some of it is found on the Malabar coast, but it is not fit for use.

Snake-wood which is in great esteem among the Indians, and used as a specific in many disorders, is found in several parts of the island of Ceylon; it is hard, bitterish, and of a bright yellow colour: the powder of this wood is rubbed over the body to prevent the progress of the itch; and one ounce of it taken in wine or water is serviceable in colics, fevers, &c. but more particularly against the bite of a serpent, with several sorts of which Ceylon abounds. Its virtues in this case were first discovered by a little animal, called *cull-quil* or *quirpele* by the Portuguese, who keep them to hunt rats and mice; it is about the size of a common ferret, and has a natural antipathy to the serpent, with which, whenever it meets, it engages, and if stung, is cured by eating snake-wood: Marcellus de Boschohouwer, a man of some consequence in this place, and of a very curious disposition, relates that he has been often witness to their battles, and once in particular he saw a very long combat between a snake and one of these creatures, which at last growing faint, retired to cure itself by the snake-wood, and returned to the fight after half an hour's absence, when it found its antagonist expired. The root of this tree,  
called



## AND THE DISPUTES THERE. 71

called by the Cingalese, nalyelli, is also said to possess many singular virtues.

Tamarind trees are found to thrive well here; the fruit is a cooler, and prescribed against scorbutic and dropsical disorders: as also does the mangrove, the branches of which when grown to their proper height, turn down and take root in the ground, thus in a short time one tree will cover a large tract of land: the sensitive plant also grows here, which retires from the touch of your hand, or of any thing else, wherewith you offer to approach it. Ceylon also abounds with excellent medicinal herbs, the use whereof practice, the best instructor, has taught to those among them that practise physic and surgery.

### C H A P. IV.

*The elephants of Ceylon preferable to all others: of their food and disorders: several different ways of catching them: the great caution of this animal: a description of it and its various virtues: two or three remarkable stories concerning it: a description of the tyger and jackall.*

**A**MONG the quadrupeds or four-footed beasts of Ceylon, the elephant claims the foremost place, as it is not only the largest beast in the world, but those particularly that are natives of this island are allowed to be so far superior to those of any other part of India, that the Cingalese tell you, they are worshipped for their excellence by all others of their own species. They feed on green herbs, and leaves of the fig, cocoa, and wild palm; they sometimes take a liking to arecca, and the sugar cane; and at a certain season of the year there issues an oil from the head of those  
which

which are old, a flux that often makes them mad ; and it is then a great chance if their guides do not fall a sacrifice to their fury. There are such numbers of these animals all over the island, that it is not safe for any body to travel without some attendance and drums, &c. wherewith to frighten them : they are most to be feared, when the evening begins to set in, a time at which they fall out in search of prey ; and if you chance to be carried by your littermen in their way, you have but a bad chance for your life ; for these dastards will quit the litter and take to their heels : some instances have been known, in which these animals have passed the litter of a traveller thus abandoned, without doing it any harm ; but this is not common. The young elephants are sometimes taken by following the track of the old ones, but the commonest way of catching them, is by cutting a long alley thro' some part of the wood in which they inhabit, and planting it with stakes ; here deep pits are dug, which being covered lightly over with hurdles and earth, the elephant is fought out, and by hallooing about him, beating drums, and tossing wild-fire in his way, hurried into this path ; where falling into one of the snares, the hunters bind his feet with ropes and chains, and so secure him. Some of them are so very cunning that they are not to be caught thus, but examine carefully with their trunks, every step they take, and thus if there lies a hole in their way, they are sure to discover it.

When they have secured a wild one, they yoke it between two tame ones, and set six men to attend it, holding lighted torches affixed to the ends of half pikes ; for the elephants are particularly fearful of fire, and these proffer it food, being either boiled rice and hay, or brown sugar ; if it is stubborn and refuses it, the tame ones beat it with

with their trunks till they teach it obedience. It is said the elephant never meddles with the female after being tamed, tho' he is sometimes seized with a lustful fit, in which he does much mischief. When the female elephant inclines to procreate, she makes a bed of herbs and weeds four or five feet above the ground, and with a cry peculiar to herself invites the male; in Ceylon they also sometimes take the male by putting a tame female in his way.

It is hard to determine the precise age of the elephant in general, but it is thought he will live two or three hundred years: the colour of its body, which is heavy and gross with little beauty about it, is dark, for the white elephant is very scarce; their eyes are small like those of a pig, and behind their ears, which lie very close, there is small tender skin, a wound wherein is mortal; as is a deep wound in his trunk, which is strong, tough, and hollow, reaching to the ground, and opening and shutting by the help of little caruncles, so nicely, that he can take up therewith a pin, or a grain of millet; thro' this he conveys to his mouth, all that he eats and drinks: in each corner of his lower jaw is a tooth, which in the male is six or seven feet long, but not above one foot in the female; and between these grows his trunk.

They are naturally extremely wild, and therefore to be taken only by hunting; the loss of liberty has been known to influence an elephant so as to throw him into a deep melancholy, wherein he has pined for want of sustenance, which he could by no means be prevailed upon to take, until relieved by music, whereby his anxiety was dissipated and the beast revived.

There are many remarkable stories told of the sagacity and fidelity of the elephant, nor is it less esteemed for its courage in war, and its very great

docility. At the sight of blood, for which they have a strong abhorrence, and at the sound of the trumpet, the disciplined elephants rush forward in battle, with such force and rapidity, as to spread terror and devastation every where around them. The best horses fly at their approach, nor can the most experienced rider compel them to sustain the onset. With one elephant Cæsar procured a most remarkable victory over the Gauls: the Syrians and Persians profited by the use of them in war, and from these did the Romans derive the knowledge of their abilities; of which they made great advantage. It is the nature of the elephant to turn upon his masters, if once repulsed; nor is there any possibility of making him return to the charge.

The mildness of their disposition is very remarkable, for in passing thro' a flock of sheep, they set them gently aside with their trunks, that they may not trample upon them. It has been known that they have been let loose upon criminals for their destruction, when instead of assailing the victims who were tied for that purpose to posts, they turned their rage against those who spurred them on; nor would they be made the instruments of cruelty. But with all his meekness, we find him endowed sometimes with an implacable spirit of revenge.

An instance of which is related by Navaretta, in the sixth book of his history of China; who tells us, that in 1658, when he was at Macassar, he saw an elephant belonging to the king pass very quietly thro' the streets with his driver upon his back; but, coming by chance to a place where cocoa-nuts were exposed to sale, snatched one from a large parcel with his trunk, wherewith he beat his rider about the head, till he dropped lifeless to the ground; an instance of cruelty, the motive of which

some

some people upon inquiry found, was the same man's having, a few days before, thrown a nut of pretty large size at the head of the elephant in order to break it; hence arose the animal's resentment, the effects of which were so very melancholy. Notwithstanding their common mild temper, an elephant in rutting time is quite mad, and so mischievous that it kills every creature that falls in its way; and upon growing cool, will go near fretting itself to death, for having perhaps destroyed some animal, for whom it had an affection.

Of the modesty of the elephant there have been several examples; and that in the time of Titus Vespasian, there was one which threw a garment over his mistress and her lover when mutually embracing, as if he thereby would have reminded them of their want of decency and reserve, was a fact attested by all Rome. It is said that the new mistress of an Indian, who had murdered his wife, was led by an elephant to the place where the body lay; which having uncovered with his trunk, and pointed out the marks of violence, thereby shewing her the danger she was in, and the fate she might expect, when her paramour was weary of her; he reinterred the corpse, and let the woman depart.

All over India, but in China more especially, almost every part of this animal is used in medicine. Broth made of its flesh is given to stop a looseness, the flesh burned prevents an overflux of urine, the gall is healing to the eyes, and removes the inconveniencies of a bad breath. The humour of the eye mixed with breast milk is said to be an excellent ophthalmic; the bone lying at the pit of the stomach when powdered is a fine stomachic; and a poultice of the skin burned to ashes, and mixed with oil, is a noble cure for a green wound.



They measure the elephant from the nail on one of his forefeet to the top of his shoulders, and for every cubit of his height, the largest not being more than nine cubits, or thirteen feet and a half high, the common price amounts to one hundred pounds English money; but the Ceylon elephant is worth four times as much.

The female carries her young from sixteen to eighteen months, and when just yeaned it is as large as a sizeable calf; they are generally fifty nay sixty years before they come to their full growth, when they will carry fourteen people, as is well known in Cochin-China, where the towers on their backs are used instead of coaches; their pace being very equal, and as swift as a horse at full trot. The teeth which the elephant sheds spontaneously in the woods, is reckoned the worst sort of ivory; the best is taken from the mouth of the beast as soon as ever he is killed, and there is a species between both, yielded by the elephant who dies a natural death.

It is certain that no animal appears to act so nearly to man, upon the principles of reason, as the elephant. That they tread more softly and much lighter than a horse, is surprizing but true; for in passing over a marsh, they hardly give any motion to the surface, while a horse in the same path shall make it tremble all around very perceptibly. When the elephant goes to drink, he stirs all the dirt from the bottom of the water, that he may have therewith gravel and small stones, which serve to digest his food, as is the case of geese, ducks, &c. for he is much afflicted with cholics and indigestion.

The woods of Ceylon abound with tygers as well as elephants.

The tyger is a creature peculiar to the Indies, for tho' there is a smaller sized animal found in America

America something resembling this beast, it is doubtful whether it be of the same species. The tyger is larger than a leopard; its skin, which is a valuable fur, used for horse furniture, bedding, lining cloaths, and palankins, is full of yellow spots surrounded with black hair, which is short and of the most beautiful gloss: their eyes are very bright, and darting a prodigious lustre, their necks short and strong, and their claws and teeth prodigiously sharp; they are exceedingly stout and very swift. There are three sorts of them, the largest of which is called the tyger royal; and its skins, which have been known to be six feet long, are used as coverlids for beds. The second and most common sort is about the size of a calf, active, light, and excessively cruel. The third and last species is something larger than a mountain cat, extremely mischievous, and its howl approaching near to the lowing of a calf, is vastly frightful. Lions never prey on any thing till it is dead, tygers always assail that which is living, tearing it into pieces, but never meddle with any thing that is lifeless; as the carcase of a sheep or of a horse. If by any chance they get among a flock of sheep, the havock they make is almost incredible; for then they seldom eat, but glut themselves with sucking the blood; so that a tyger, a tygress, and two young whelps have been known to destroy above one hundred sheep in one night's time. In a close country they lurk behind the hedges, and spring upon a man, or any other creature that passes by, seizing him by the middle, and carrying him to their haunts, where they tear him to pieces and devour him. Those who have eat of it, esteem the flesh to be as delicate, nay rather better flavoured than veal, particularly when young. It is said that dogs and tygers engender; Diodorus Siculus affirms that a certain Indian king presented

some of this heterogeneous brood to Alexander the great, which was exceeding strong and fierce, being besides endowed with all the docility of a dog; four of them overpowering a lion with ease. It is asserted by some writers, but with what truth I won't venture to affirm, that a tyger meeting a black and a white man together, will pass the latter unnoticed, and tear the former to pieces; because it is a prey perhaps to which they are more accustomed. They are often seized upon by the huntsmen in this manner; the boldest of the company finds out where there is a young litter, with which in the absence of the dam, he runs away, when she returns and misses the young, such is her quick scent, that she soon traces the course of the huntsman; but he stops her progress by dropping one of the whelps, which she immediately takes care to secure, by carrying off to her litter, and by this piece of cunning the huntsman has time to get safely off with the rest.

Walter Schouten, a Dutch writer of great veracity, assures us, that the tyger seizes upon and bears off a strong man with as much ease as a cat does a mouse. He leaps upon and sticks his fore paws into the shoulders, then strikes his teeth thro' the ribs; and the attack and destruction of a victim are scarcely to be distinguished as separable.

This island has also bears in it, and there are plenty of horses, which were first imported by the Portuguese, and have multiplied considerably; together with cows, bulls, elks, sheep, stags, goats, boars both wild and tame, hares, partridges, peacocks, and buffaloes, of which hundreds may be seen feeding in one flock; in Europe, these beasts, which are about the size of an ox, are used to draw in the plough and other carriages, but being a little unruly, an iron ring is fastened to their nose, that they may be the more easily guided.

The

## AND THE DISPUTES THERE. 79

The jackall is a species of animal, that gather in herds by the road side towards the fall of night, where they make a most inharmonious and intimidating noise, nor do they scruple then attacking such people as are unfortunate enough to pass near them; human flesh they are very fond of, and so greedy after it, that they tear the dead bodies out of the graves, for which reason a great stone covering the whole surface is generally laid over a new made grave to prevent their depredations; they are hunted with grey hounds, but not often taken, for by scattering their urine, they impregnate the sod over which they pass with scents so strong and unsavory, that the hounds can't endure it.

The physicians of Ceylon prescribe the flesh of the jackall as efficacious in a consumption, and succeed tolerably well. The jackall is called, by the people of Malabar, adiviis. It resembles a fox in make, and the tail is exactly the same. Our author saw one leopard here, but never met the least sign of the rhinoceros.

## C H A P. V.

*Of the several kinds of birds peculiar to the island of Ceylon: its insects and various sorts of fish: the crocodile described: of serpents of a surprizing bigness; their familiarity: several different methods of curing their bite: surprizing boldness of a Dutch soldier: of ambergrease, its nature and value: a review of the pearl fishery of Ceylon: an account of the manner in which the fishermen get coral; of its properties and species.*

**T**HERE is a vast variety of birds in Ceylon, some of which are peculiar to the country; among these are the minhotos, a great enemy to poultry, an owl whose scream is of a most hideous nature, and a certain bird the nest of which hangs from the branches of the trees in the manner of a hamock. Among their song birds, are the nightingale and the lark; they have also plenty of sea-gulls, water-snipes, parroquets of the most beautiful colour; turtles, pigeons, partridges, bats, swallows, peacocks, geese, herons, wild and tame ducks; nor are they without bees, glow-worms, gnats and locusts. In the day time the tops of the houses swarm with crows, which retire with the evening in squadrons to the woods; they are so extremely cunning that there is no shooting any of them, except from an ambuscade; and if one of them happens to be brought down, the rest sing his dirge with the most grating croak that can be imagined.

Among the fish of Ceylon, we find plaice, crabs, pike, king-fishes, sail-fishes, craw-fish, haddock, sharks, smelts, seals, oysters, shrimps, bat-fish, galleon-



galleon-fish, cacap, orados, bomtos, fardins, corquados, &c. and among its amphibious animals are the crocodile and sea porcupine. The porcupine is known also by the name of the sea hog; its food when ashore is herbs growing near the water-side; the teeth of the porcupine are very sharp, and the flesh is wholesome eating; the females have breasts with milk in them.

The crocodile or aligator is an amphibious animal of the lizard-kind; in Ceylon they seldom exceed the length of eighteen feet, tho' in other parts of India they have been found thirty feet long; they have four feet with crooked claws, and are only vulnerable under the belly and in the eyes, the skin being covered with scales that are musket proof: as they have no joint in the back-bone, consequently cannot turn very quickly; a man who is aware of them, may easily escape by running behind them.

Out of its head, say some naturalists, may be taken a stone that is excellent, when powdered, against the gravel, as are also the bones of the shark. The teeth of the crocodile are strong and sharp, shutting into each other; it moves only the upper jaw, and has no tongue; it is said to yield a kind of musk, and it communicates a perfumed scent to the place where it lurks: it is extraordinary subtle, and manifests great cunning in waiting for its prey; for it often conceals itself in the reeds close to the water side, where people either come to wash, or else fill their vessels, and suddenly seizing them by the hand or foot, drags them into the water, where it devours them. It is a remarkable cowardly creature, as well as extremely cruel; for the elephant has been often observed to bathe with impunity close to the haunt of the crocodile, which it is supposed to be intimidated from assailing by its enormous size. It often swims on

the surface of the water, so folded within itself that it may be easily mistaken for a log of wood, till the approach of prey, on which it springs swiftly as an arrow out of a bow.

The flesh of the young crocodile is a great dainty among the Chinese, and from the body is taken a white fat that is said to be good against settled humours of the body. If the fens or ponds that they frequent, chance to dry up, they dig holes in the ground, wherein they live till the water returns.

Ceylon is much infested with serpents of many different sorts, and those that are of an amphibious nature are particularly large, being from eight to ten yards long and five yards round, with throats sufficiently capacious to swallow a stag whole; they are killed by the natives on the shore as they sleep, and their flesh is esteemed good eating. We are told by several writers, that these serpents will swim a long time round a ship in expectation of some of the men coming down to wash.

The rat-catching serpent is very large, but not at all venomous, and is generally found on the tops of houses. There is great danger in the cobras; and when our author was at Ceylon they killed several people; however, the patient may be cured by a timely application of the serpent stone, which we find after a very strict search to be a compound of certain herbs burned to ashes, mixed with a particular sort of earth; of this is formed a kind of paste, which made up into a lump of the shape and size of a pigeon's egg, is left to dry into a hard consistency, which passes for a stone, the story which we have mentioned before of its dropping from the head of a serpent being found on examination entirely fabulous. The place that happens to be bit by the serpent must be pricked with a pin till the blood comes, on which the stone must be instantly applied, which adheres closely till it attracts all the venom, and

then it falls off; but if it be not strait put into a cup of either cow's or breast-milk, in which it may discharge the poison it has sucked, it assuredly bursts; it communicates its virulency in an ugly green colour to the liquor wherein it is immersed.

A Dutch surgeon at Ceylon, by name Albert Van Lamburgen, was in the year 1666 afflicted with blindness, arising from the sting of a serpent, which he recovered from shortly after, tho' by what means I cannot tell. A man working on the top of a church was about the same time stung to death by the attack of a serpent that lay covered under some leaves. Baldæus says he once saw two serpents twisted together sporting under the same church wall, which were both cut to pieces by a foldier, and so very familiar were they in his time that in rainy weather they traversed all parts of the house without fear, passing over the beds, and even touching people with their tails as they went by, without being in the least intimidated. The idolaters of this island pay them divine honours, nor will they at any rate permit them to be killed, but feed them that they should do them no harm, and call them after their children and servants, so that almost every house has a domestic brood of serpents.

Those who are bitten by a serpent and can't procure the *pietra de cobra*, or serpent stone, readily, may chance to find benefit by holding a lighted coal near the part affected, which draws out the venom by degrees, without much inconveniency to the patient, and as fast as one coal cools, during the process, another hot one is to be applied; but the part affected is first to be bound all round as tight as possible in a lump, to prevent the infection from spreading. It is not amiss for those who go to the East-Indies to carry with them *mithridate*, *balsam of Peru*, *theriac*, *orvietan*, *rue*, *scordium*, *angelica*,

lica, and other cordials and antidotes; cooling diet and constant bathing are also necessary, but bleeding and purging are dangerous; fasting spittle applied to the wound, the peel of a lemon or citron, just plucked from the trees, are counted good remedies in these cases; also a poultice of the serpent's head that communicated the infection is deemed salutary.

There is a sort of mountebanks not only in Ceylon, but in many other parts of the East-Indies, who make a trade of taming serpents, which they pretend to do by certain forms of incantation, and they carry them about by way of show, making them stand an end and dance to the sound of their uncouth songs. In Baldæus's time there was a soldier in garrison at Jafnapatnam, a native of High Germany, who was distinguished by the name of the serpent-catcher, and this man being sent for by the governor of Coromandel, to take one of the serpents called by the Portuguese cobra, came accordingly, and holding his hat before his face with one hand, with the other laid hold of the serpent without receiving the least damage, and put it into his knapsack; he used afterwards to carry it about with him as a pet, and even to sleep near it: he would by no means reveal whence he derived his power; all he would acknowledge was, that he carried about him the head and heart of a serpent, which in some measure contributed to it; and as for the rest, there was in it nothing supernatural. This island abounds with insects, as well as serpents, such as the millepedes, which are often known to be six or seven inches long; spiders that are very large, scorpions, frogs, tortoises, and toads.

The use of crystal is not unknown here. The commodities, by the sale of which the Portuguese made most profit, were all kinds of coloured silks, velvets,

velvets, and stuffs, red caps, painted calicoes, vessels of porcelain, opium, china root, camphire, musk, sandal-wood, glass-bottles, gilt looking-glasses, brimstone, salt-petre, tin, lead, and copper. Ceylon has also as great variety and as much plenty of corn as any other part of the world; for it has not only five kinds of rice that ripen one after another, but also eight other sorts of grain, whence they extract either oil or bread.

Its shore also abounds with ambergrease; the generation of which cannot be precisely determined, nor whence it comes; it is wafted to land by the swell, and is commonly found after stormy weather in round lumps of a bluish white colour, by people who go in search of it by moonshine, mounted upon camels trained to the business, and these bend down when they come near a piece of ambergrease, that their riders may pick it up: the white and black ambergrease, for there are pieces of it that have both these colours, are not near so valuable as the other, which is called oftentimes foxed-amber, because the fox swallows and throws it up again without much alteration, except impairing, tho' but a little, the scent of it. Its real goodness is known by laying some of it on a very hot knife, when it will not only melt and run like wax, but entirely evaporate, leaving not the slightest dregs behind. Mr. Rocheford, in his Natural History of the American islands says, that ambergrease, when first cast on shore, smells like rusty bacon, and that it attracts birds of prey; the marks of a bird's bill is often found in it, and is one of the signs of its goodness. It is thought by some to be a vegetable, growing at the bottom of the sea, and that it is forced thence by tempests. There are many other various opinions concerning it; but it is pretty certain, that it was not known to Hippocrates, Dioscorides, or Galen.

There



There is a fish of the whale kind named Tal, which swallows the ambergrease, as it swims in large pieces on the surface of the water ; which, not being able to digest, kills him ; when those who are accustomed to this kind of fishery perceive the carcass floating on the water, they go out in their boats, and fastening their harpoons to the body, draw it ashore, where they split it down the back, and take out the ambergrease ; that which is found about the creature's belly, having contracted a disagreeable scent, is thereby rendered good for nothing. The bones of this fish are sold by the druggists of Bagdad and Bassora at a good rate ; of the back-bone are made stools, and some parts of the ribs are used in the structure of their houses by many Indians.

The pearl fishery of Ceylon is a very profitable commerce. There are three other pearl fisheries, besides what is on this coast ; the first in the Persian gulph ; the second opposite to it, at Catifa on the coast of Arabia Felix ; the third is at Japan : but it is allowed, that the pearls of Ceylon are of the finest water, consequently, tho' small, they are in proportion more valuable than any others ; the shell of the oyster which produces them is called mother-of-pearl, it has a fine lustre, and it is used in snuff-boxes, cabinets, &c. The people who follow the trade of fishing for pearl are, what with the art of the Dutch and the tyranny of their prince, kept very poor, there being a Brachman employed by the Dutch generally ready to buy up the treasure as it is found.

In order to carry the fishermen quicker to the bottom, they have a large weight affixed either to the foot or to the side ; in the right hand they have a sharp iron to be used in removing the oysters from the rocks, and if there is not great care and caution exerted in going about it, if the oyster prove large

large it will adhere so strongly to its bed as to foil the poor fisherman's best endeavours; on the left arm, and sometimes round the neck is hung a basket into which the fish is put when caught; about the left arm is also a cord, by pulling which they give notice to those in the vessel from which they descended that they want to be brought up. The hazard these poor people run is very great, not only from the water-serpent and crocodile, but also from many other ravenous monsters that delight in human blood. It is not uncommon for some people who have no right to a rich spot of fishery to throw a certain drug into the water all round, which they know the oyster has a dislike to, and which on scenting it, goes to another part of the coast, where they follow and fish for it, in this manner becoming rich.

There have been of late days many pearl-fisheries established in the West-Indies; but the oriental pearl remains still unrivaled.

Coral is also a production of the sea about Ceylon, which is a commodity more valuable in other parts of the world than in Europe; in Japan particularly it may be sold to considerable advantage; and a fair piece, that is of a good size, without any fault, will bring more money than a conscientious European would think of asking for it. The naturalists agree that coral is a sea plant, which grows at the bottom, and often sprouts out into branches of five or six feet in height. There have been found branches of it variegated with red, black, white, and other colours, and from a careful observation of its growth, it has been proved to pass thro' many changes of colour until it is full ripe, when it becomes a most beautiful red.

It is so clogged with dirt, when first taken out of the sea, that before its goodness can be determined,

mined, it must be carefully polished; red and white coral are those that are in most esteem. Coral is said to acquire a brighter red in the custody of a man than of a woman; it is said to fade in the possession of a sick person, and the decline of its colour prognosticates the approach of some disorder. It was thought by the antients to preserve a house from the thunder-bolt; to protect from evil geniuses, and to be efficacious in stopping blood; it may be discharged of its red colour and changed to a very fine white, by being steeped when pulverised for a day or two in citron juice: its colour, when faded, may be restored by holding it for some time over a thick smoke, and then covering it a little while with mustard seed, or rubbing it with soft thread. Coral is not peculiar to the coast about Ceylon: it is found off Sicily near Trepano, tho' this sort is but small and ill coloured; also on the coasts of Catalonia, Majorca, and Corsica. It is the opinion of some people, that there are whole forests of it in the red sea, but that it is not any where to be found in the main ocean, or at forty miles distance from land; for the barques that are employed in this fishery never go farther from shore, and they are so very swift that no galley almost can overtake them. The time of fishing for coral is from the beginning of April to the end of July. In the northern parts of the Mogul's dominions, and indeed over all Asia, it is worn by the common people in necklaces and bracelets.

## C H A P. VI.

*The first discovery of the island of Ceylon ; and the good fortune of a Chinese sailor : some farther account of the royal family to the time of the entry of the Portuguese : disputes between Singa, Adascyn, and Lamantia : the latter perfidiously betrayed and cruelly put to death : his son crowned king by the Portuguese interest, and privately murdered by his brother Don John, who mounts the throne : the death of Singa Adascyn : wonderful disinterestedness of a priest : Faneir Wandaar sets up for king, and routs Don John, and is assassinated for soliciting a match with the young empress. Don John again enabled to make head against the Portuguese ; is married to Donna Catherina : his reign, death, and character.*

CEYLON was first discovered by some Chinese mariners, who chancing to be shipwrecked on the coast, were hospitably entertained by the inhabitants, and one of them saying that his king was son of the sun, was chosen by consent of the people to be their king, as they thereby not only composed some feuds that had long reigned among them, but also manifested their respect to the sun, which they adored, as do the people of Malabar : hence the present race of the kings of Ceylon deduce their origin from, and stile themselves lords of the golden sun.

From this foreign king, who stiles himself the much-beloved son of the always moving sun, was descended Sankauw Pati Mahadaseyn, who called himself well-beloved lord of the whole island. The well-beloved conqueror of the lion was one of his descendants : this monarch left two sons, who, after a very obstinate and bloody dispute divided the country between them, the kingdom of Candy falling

ling to the share of the younger, Radgora Adascyn, the well-beloved king, and the rest of the island devolving upon the other brother, the eye-apple of the country: however, their posterity disagreeing, Raja Singa Adascyn, a man of great courage and wonderful art, tho' at first only a barber, made his way to the throne, by imposing himself, as one of the blood-royal, upon the people, and subdued the whole island, having first cut off all the great men.

While he was wading thro' blood towards this important point, the Portuguese taking advantage of the intestine divisions, invaded, and made themselves masters of the places most famous for cinnamon in this island, from whence they transported it to Europe in vast quantities, reaping prodigious profits. Raja Singa having seized upon all the treasure belonging to the royal family, and having driven the late emperor into exile, conferred the government of a very large province upon Vinne Lamantia, who had been a favourite of the late emperor, but he used his power to rebel against his master, and procure himself to be proclaimed emperor, under the name of deliverer of the empire. After a bloody contest peace was concluded between him and Raja; in consequence whereof finding means to get Lamantia, his young son of a year old, by inviting them to court, into his custody, he ordered them to be buried up to the arm-pits in the ground, together with their chief attendants, and round balls of wood to be bowled at them till their brains were dashed out.

When this cruel execution was over, he invaded Candy, Lamantia's dominion; the people of which liked the new government very well; and having made the empress his prisoner, he plundered the country, and sold many of the inhabitants for slaves, oppressing those that remained, in the most tyrannical manner.



tyrannical manner. This induced them to crave the assistance of the Portuguese, to whom Raja Adascyn was a professed enemy; and among whom the two sons of Lamantia had taken refuge, and were baptised by the names of Don Philip and Don John.

The two princes were sent to Candy by the Portuguese, with a considerable force, where Don Philip, being the eldest, was proclaimed king; which preference of his brother irritating the ambitious Don John against the Portuguese, he took the first opportunity of dispatching his brother by poison, and seizing the throne, forced the Portuguese out of Candy; after which action he obtained a very signal victory over Raja Adascyn with but a handful of men; and Adascyn in his flight, having wilfully thrust a thorn thro' his foot, would not permit it to be meddled with, but suffered it to mortify, and his death, according as he wished, was the consequence.

It was remarkable, that none of his cruelties inspired him with the slightest remorse, except that of having caused to be burned some priests of Waldowanse for having denied that patricide, of which he had in many instances been guilty, was a venial crime; however, he spared their high priest: he had proposed the same question to the priests of Paraynoydeyo, who having represented God as something more merciful than to damn him entirely, were dismissed with the title of his majesty's friends. A few hours before he died having manifested great contrition for the murder of his brother, the high priest absolved him of the crime, but refused to accept some very valuable presents offered him in consequence thereof. This honest man died afterwards at Candy, in the hundred and twentieth year of his age.

Before

Before the battle in which Raja Adascyn was routed, he was very melancholy and low-spirited; and, as if foreseeing his approaching fate, was heard to cry out, "Don John is a brave warrior, " a throne will be the reward of his prowess. " Where, Raja Singa Adascyn, where is thy wont-  
 " ed fortune that used to be irresistible? why  
 " sleeps thy courage? wherefore slumbers thy am-  
 " bition? is thy greatness fled? Alas! alas! I see  
 " the sad reverse of prosperity! and fickle fortune  
 " that formerly led me by the hand, now turns  
 " her back, and leaves me to perish in the shade of  
 " adversity! What has thy once beloved favourite,  
 " thy Raja Singa done?"

Don John now imagined himself sole monarch of the island, without a competitor, when on a sudden Raja Singa Adascyn's secretary being possessed of all his master's treasure, which was very considerable, assumed the title of king by name of Janeira Wandaar; and being upon soliciting it, joined by a large body of Portuguese from Goa, commanded by Pedro Copez de Sousa, he attacked Don John near the city of Walane, and routed him entirely, slaughtering a great number of his men, and striking such a panic into the rest, that the whole country submitted to him without opposition, Dolleswagge excepted: as for Don John, not being able to rally his scattered forces, he retired with scarcely one attendant to the woods, where he had nothing to feed on for sometime, but herbage and wild fruit.

The Portuguese having, by this success, obtained an absolute authority not only over Don John, but over their allies, resolved to dispose of the throne of Ceylon in favour of Donna Catharina, one of the real blood-royal, who was educated at Manaar in the Christian religion, in which the natives of Ceylon acquiesced, refusing to own the king of Portugal

gal as their sovereign lord, a submission to which they were much pressed. Donna Catharina was, in consequence of this resolution, soon after brought to Candy, where she was received by Don Pedro Lopez, and a large body of the people in the most respectful manner, they prostrating themselves before her according to the custom of the country.

Donna Catharina made her entry, which was excessively magnificent, in her litter, amidst the loudest acclamations of the people, and was in a few days crowned empress with the usual solemnities. About this time several houses were burned down, in different parts of the city, but how, no man could tell; at last it was found out to be done by Don John, who had come hither privately, disguised like a beggar-man, with a view to destroy the town, and who was obliged to get back to his place of refuge, there being twenty thousand crowns reward offered for the taking him dead or alive. The Portuguese now pretty much at ease, and no more perplexed by disputes, began to give a loose to their pride, avarice and insolence, whereby they rendered themselves intollerable to the natives of the island, and having refused to allow of a marriage between king Janier Wandaar, and the empress Donna Catharina, tho' they had solemnly promised it; the former entered into an association with Don John, who scoured the country at the head of a small party, to drive out these new task-masters once again, and divide with him the dominion of the island; but the Portuguese general having intercepted some letters that passed between them, caused him to be assassinated with all his attendants in his own presence, having first disarmed him, by borrowing his sword, under pretence of admiring the handle, which was curiously set with jewels.

It was in vain for them to endeavour justifying this treacherous method of proceeding to the empress; she, who

who, tho' but twelve years old, had a great deal of good sense, and manifested a very just discernment, observing, that tho' he was a traitor, he ought not to have been basely cut off without legal trial. "Be assured, said she, let your pretences for it be ever so plausible, this very fact will cause your ruin; for no body that hears of your having thus basely dispatched him who was your best friend but will curse you, and fear that the next victim to your remorseless revenge will be her whom you call empress; but tremble for the consequences of a fact, which the divine justice will not fail to avenge." This woman's words had in them the force of an oracle; for they were largely fulfilled when the Dutch forces attacked the Portuguese, and drove them out of Botecaló, Columbo, Gale, Negumbo, and to crown all, out of Jafnapatnam.

These perfidious proceedings were the entire ruin of the Portuguese affairs; for the Cingalese being thereby fixed in an irreconcilable hatred against them, sought out Don John, who very readily fell in their way, and soon formed under him a considerable army, every member of which was determined to root out their tyrannical foes, who being intimidated by their numbers and preparations, retreated from the city of Candy to the fort of Ganoor, and sent to Columbo for relief; the Cingalese, who were close at their heels, took about fifty prisoners, whom they sent back with their noses slit and their ears cut off.

This boldness so frightened the Portuguese, that they determined to retreat in a body to Walare, setting all the country behind them on fire; but Don John pursued them in spite of all bars, and overtaking, attacked them in four places, obtaining in the end a complete victory, having destroyed their best soldiers, possessed himself of a vast booty,

besides

besides cannon, ammunition, and arms; and made the empress Donna Catherina his prisoner; as also general Lopez, who died in three days after of his wounds, leaving his son to the care of Don John, who, as he had promised, sent him in safety to Columbo.

After this action he stormed all the Portuguese garrisons, putting the soldiers to the sword, and the whole country submitted to his jurisdiction, several petty princes, who had been engaged in alliance with the foe, coming in with considerable presents, and making their submission. His next step was to marry Donna Catherina, thereby securing to his own interest the only competitor for the crown that could be feared; after which he built a palace for himself, or rather a citadel, strongly fortified, obliging the captive Portuguese to labour in the work. Don John now enjoyed the throne pretty peaceably; and his defeating a strong army sent against him from Goa, under the command of Jeronimo D'Oviedo, who narrowly escaped from being made captive, confirmed him absolutely in the possession of it.

The Portuguese still keeping their station in Gale, Don John sent against it Dominico Core, a gallant leader, who having received some affront in the Portuguese service, after cutting off the noses and ears of some monks who had occasioned it, deserted; but the Cingalese forces which he headed being by some misconduct defeated, he was made prisoner, carried to Columbo, and privately murdered; a baseness that the king of Candy revenged, by putting to death, without distinction, all the Portuguese that fell into his hands, some few excepted, whom he sent back to Columbo; most miserably mangled, bidding them tell their general, thus did Don John revenge the death of Dominico Core; and thus hereafter would he serve all



all the Portuguese that should fall into his hands, unless such Cingalese as were then prisoners at Columbo should be immediately set at liberty.

A dangerous insurrection in the garrison of that place was the consequence of so miserable a spectacle; and had not the general Oviedo been hid by some friendly friars in a convent till the storm subsided, he had certainly fallen a victim to the disturbance. The barbarous usage of his brother Dominico, did not hinder Simon Core from revolting to the Portuguese interest, who made him not only governor of a province, but wedded him to a woman of distinction among themselves; nor is it unlikely that love for her occasioned his perfidy: be that as it will, she and her son were sure pledges of his fidelity, while he carried on the war against his former master the king of Candy; whom, however, out of antient kindness, as well as from his detestation of treachery, he could not help privately informing of a design set on foot by the Portuguese to assassinate him.

In the court of Don John was a man called Emanuel Dias, who had been formerly footboy to general Lopez, after whose death he chose to stay in Candy, and being a fellow of a good deal of cunning and subtlety, had raised himself to the rank of a gentleman, and was invested with a place of some trust; this was the man fixed upon to visit the city of Columbo, under pretence of being dissatisfied at some neglect shewn him at court, to find out the bottom of the plot concerted against the king. He executed his commission with great address: at Columbo he was received with open arms, for he denounced nothing but vengeance against Don John; the perpetrators of the conspiracy fixed upon him as their principal; there being five of them men of tried courage, who followed him to Candy, he having feigned that he was pardoned

pardoned for his desertion from that place, which pardon he only accepted of with a view, as he said, to promote so glorious an end, as the death of a tyrant; he introduced them to court, where they were made prisoners, for Don John had previously been acquainted with all their proceedings, and after a long captivity put them to a most painful death; nor would one man of a strong body of troops that had by stolen marches advanced into the neighbourhood, and skulked in an adjacent wood, waiting a concerted signal to be given when the deed should be perpetrated, have escaped, if they had not been informed by a deserter of the real state of the case: however, as their retreat was extremely precipitate, they left behind them some arms and ammunition, with all their baggage.

Shortly after this transaction, the Dutch sent an embassy to the court of Candy, which was received in a very cordial manner, and dismissed with considerable presents, having first agreed that the Hollanders should assist in driving the Portuguese out of Gale, &c. to which end in about seven months after Sebal De Weert, a Dutch vice admiral arrived upon the coast with seven ships, to view which he invited the king aboard before he proceeded on his expedition; but his majesty having been apprised that De Weert intended to keep him and his court prisoners, and to seize on his country instead of assisting him against his enemies, civilly excused himself under pretence that his presence at Candy, out of respect to his wife who was alone, was immediately necessary; but he promised from thence to march an army by land to support the siege of Gale, while De Weert should attack it by sea.

This refusal of his invitation nettled De Weert, who was not quite sober, so that he positively declared, "If the emperor did not honour him with

“ a visit aboard, he would abandon the enterprize against the Portuguese;” and he observed, “ That certainly the empress could not be in such pressing want of a man, as to require instant connubial comfort.” A speech the insolence of which irritated Don John to such a degree, that he abruptly broke off the conference, giving the word to his attendants to make De Weert prisoner; but he resisting, was clove down with a scymetar by a man who seized him behind by his long hair: most of his attendants perished with him, one or two only escaping to the sea side, where plunging into the water, they swam to their ships.

Don John would have been better pleased to have made him prisoner, but as it could not be done, he was satisfied with his being killed; and to shew the light in which he regarded the Dutch, he wrote to the surviving commander of the fleet, Vibraads van Warwick this short address in Portuguese, “ He who drinks wine cannot be good; “ God manifests his justice; if you desire peace, “ you shall have it; if you desire war, you shall “ have it.”

This gallant monarch was soon after seized with a burning fever, wherein every remedy that it was thought could quench his thirst, was administered ineffectually; and he died in the most violent agony, leaving behind him by his empress one son named Mahastanne Adascyn, and two daughters called Soria Mahadascyn and Cathan Adascyn. Don John was a tall, well limbed, black man, of coarse speech, and rude address, but very courageous and a good commander: he had amassed heaps of jewels and treasure; even after having founded many public inns, erected fortifications, and built palaces. In affairs of government he was very exact, never pardoning any flagitious crime, nor neglecting to reward such persons as in their different stations

nations deported themselves properly; he had a good head for politics, and was a strict observer of his word; the Portuguese were a people whom he looked upon with a very jealous eye, for he mortally hated them, and certainly not without reason. He professed himself attached to no particular form of religion; but allowed every man freely to serve God as he pleased.

## C H A P VII.

*Disturbances after the death of Don John: Donna Catharina takes the regency upon herself, and marries Cenuwieraat, after he had assassinated the prince of Ouve: the Dutch send an embassy to the new king, who grants prodigious advantages: great respect paid to the Dutch ambassador: the kings of Cotiarum and Panua accused of high treason: the latter beheaded: the death of the presumptive heir of the empire, not without suspicion of poison: his burial very magnificent.*

SEVERAL factions started up, after the demise of king John, with a view each of disposing of the government: the chief of these was supported by the prince of Ouve, who openly aspired at the throne, and Cenuwieraat, who claimed the regency of the kingdom, till his nephew should come of age, he being brother to the late emperor: but Donna Catharina put an end to these commotions, by declaring she intended, by herself, to manage for her children, the throne she possessed; and by boldly striking off the heads of several of the most turbulent opponents of her rule. However, the people of the lowlands wearied out by the ravages committed by the prince of Ouve and Cenuwieraat, entered into a confederacy with the Portuguese against her, she having before re-

nounced their proffered alliance, which might have redounded much to her disadvantage, had she not, in a full assembly of the general states of the empire, pronounced the proceedings of these princes illegal, themselves rebels, and their estates confiscated.

Notwithstanding this sentence, they were both shortly after permitted to appear at court, each having in his head a matrimonial alliance with the empress; consequently upon his guard against the other's machinations; but at length, the better fortune of Cenuwieraat prevailed, for meeting the prince of Ouve, who was his elder, at the gate of the palace, he complimented him with the lead, to accept of which the credulous prince being overpersuaded, was stabbed directly in the back by Cenuwieraat, who only said, "Traitor! thou hast thy reward," and then left the city with his people; the prince died on the spot.

This murder raised some bloody commotions in Candy, which could be only appeased by the appearance of the empress, who loudly exclaimed against Cenuwieraat, breathing nothing but vengeance for an outrage so very atrocious committed so near her presence; yet he soon after not only found means to convince her that the fact could not have been avoided, as being necessary for her preservation; but she even permitted him to share her bed and throne, he, at his coronation, assuming the name of Camapati Mahadascyn.

About this time, the king of Spain and Portugal having made a truce for twelve years with the states of Holland, the latter took that opportunity of firmly establishing their commercial interests in the East Indies; sending letters and embassies to all the princes who were their friends. Among the rest, Marcellus de Boschhouwer one of the company's under factors, was sent with credential let-



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ters to Ceylon, and full power to enter into a treaty with the new king; Camapati Mahadascyn, who received him with great pleasure, caused him to be clothed in white and placed near his own person in a chair of gold.

In this conference among other very advantageous articles stipulated in favour of the Dutch, it was granted that no other European nation should be allowed to traffic in the island. That the Dutch should be at liberty to build a fort, the king furnishing materials and labourers. That he should dispose of all his vendible treasures to the Dutch only. That he should allow them the export of all their merchandise duty free. That he should furnish the timber and all necessaries for building such yachts or boats, &c. as they should stand in need of. That the company's servants should be answerable to the company only for any trespasses they might chance to commit. And that his majesty should with his whole force assist them against the Portuguese and all other enemies. They in like manner promising to sustain him when attacked, &c.

After the conclusion of this treaty, Mr. Boschhouwer would have taken his leave and departed with some elephants that were going to the Dutch factory of Tegnapatam; but the emperor entreated his farther stay, heaping favours on him, creating him prince of Migonne, &c. knight of the order of the golden sun, president of the council of war, the second person in his privy council, and lord high admiral of Ceylon; and taking no measures without first formally consulting him.

The Portuguese about this time having made some incroachments upon the Dutch factory, and cut off a few of Mr. Boschhouwer's people, a body of five thousand Cingalese were sent in pursuit of them, who cut off twenty-three Portuguese

and six hundred Indian allies, bringing back to Candy a considerable booty.

This incurſion determined the emperor to convene the ſtates in order to concert a war for diſpoſſeſſing the Portugueſe of Gale, Columbo, and other ſtrong places; beſides which, juſticiary proceedings were ſet on foot againſt ſeveral tributary princes, either accuſed or ſuſpected of having entered into an alliance with the common enemy: among theſe were the kings of Cotiarum, and of Panua, the former of which was after a formal trial acquitted; but the guilt of the latter was manifeſt in his declining to obey the ſummons ſent him to anſwer the charge: on which account the princes of Migonne, and of Ouve marched into his dominions at the head of thirty five thouſand men, determining to lay the country waſte with fire and ſword; but the inhabitants prevented theſe proceedings by paying a very heavy tribute, and promiſing that their king ſhould appear perſonally at court in ſix or eight days, which he accordingly did.

After a long examination before the privy council, it fully appearing upon evidence, " That he  
" had concerted a dangerous conſpiracy againſt  
" the ſtate in conjunction with the Portugueſe," and " employed a ruſſian to murder the emperor for a conſiderable reward," he acknowledged his guilt and craved mercy; but in vain for he was ſentenced to loſe his head on the 24th of March 1613. The morning of which day he appeared in the caſtle of Meddema Honore, upon a ſcaffold covered with white, a colour peculiar in this country to regality, ſeated in a gilt chair; and tho' at firſt he appeared with an undaunted ſpirit, yet, when by public proclamation, he was deprived of his dignity, he began to bewail his fate, and aſk if there were any hopes of pardon; to this inquiry

inquiry being answered in the negative, he suffered his attendant gentlemen to undress him, distributing among them his gold and jewels; after which he chewed some betel and arek, then walking once or twice round the scaffold, as if in hope of a suspension of his sentence, he made a few seemingly involuntary exclamations, and then entreating that he might be buried in a regal manner, he laid his head upon the block, and at one blow it was severed from his body, which, at the intreaty of the nobility, was honourably interred.

His uncle Samatway succeeded him with the consent of the emperor, and after having conquered some opposing factions, he settled himself securely on the throne, paid off the arrears of tribute due to the emperor, and rejected very advantageous offers made to him by the Portuguese.

Some little time before this transaction, the hereditary prince of the empire, Don John's only son, dying, the empress was inconsolable for the loss, and the people were moved by some incendiaries to believe that he was poisoned by the emperor's contrivance; which was near occasioning an insurrection; however, these suspicions, tho' perhaps not ill grounded, were removed by the influence of the princes of Migonne and of Ouve, who assured them that the young prince died of a fever. The tumult being appeased, the body was carried to the funeral pile in the most magnificent manner.

The procession was led by the prince's musicians clothed in black linen; followed by several pike men, with shield-bearers and halberdeers, their weapons clubbed, three and three in a rank; then came forty war-elephants guided by as many gentlemen, and eight fine Persian horses led by eight knights of the golden sun; after these were the grooms of the bed chamber all very richly clothed. Then came the scepter and crown borne upon a

black velvet cushion, ornamented with the prince's arms. The corpse followed immediately after, attended by eight of the chief men of the empire. Then came the empress in her litter with sixteen fan-bearers, and people carrying four umbrells, eight betel boxes, and a golden nosegay sacred to the imperial use. The emperor himself followed after, supported by the princes of Migonne and Mewater, and the cavalcade was closed by the peers and principal governors of the empire.

The streets thro' which they passed were adorned with arches composed of fine stuffs and plaister : being arrived at the place of burial, the corpse was deposited in the middle of a square building, raised about seven feet from the ground, adorned with rows of trees, and the middle filled up with spices and sandal wood, among which were disposed a large quantity of sweet scented butter, and three times as much oil of cinnamon ; over it was a canopy, under which the lords stood while certain words were pronounced by the priests ; which being ended, the prince of Migonne advanced to the funeral pile, bearing a golden chaffing-dish, a bundle of straw, and a lighted torch, all which he received from the prince of Ammè, and setting fire to the pile, the corpse was soon consumed, and the train parted.

## C H A P. VIII.

*The emperor's ill success at land recompensed by his advantage at sea: Donna Catharina dies: the emperor strongly affected at the loss: resigns his power, and appoints two administrators of the government during his son's minority: a conspiracy against the emperor's children discovered, and the conspirators put to an exemplary death: a Portuguese embassy to Ceylon without any success: several skirmishes between the natives or Cingalese and the Portuguese: Boschhouwer goes to Europe, enters the Danish service, and dies: the Danes disappointed in their views, on the trade of this island: the Portuguese army betrayed and entirely routed: Columbo reinforced, and the Cingalese repulsed.*

THE emperor now marched a good army against the Portuguese posted in Walane, the castle of which place he took by storm, but was beaten out of it by the irregularity of his people, one hundred and twenty five of whom he ordered to be hanged up, for having, before they had secured their conquest, proceeded to plunder; a misconduct the more especially disadvantageous, as the enemy was thereby left at liberty to receive new supplies, and strengthen themselves more fully than before. However, his success at sea was something better, for some ships which he had fitted out under the conduct of a nephew of the prince of Ouve, returned with a prodigious booty, to the harbour of Cotiarum, whence they set out, having plundered six Portuguese vessels, and flung all the crews into the sea; preserving only the women and negroes.



In July 1613, the empress departed this life in the thirty-fifth year of her age, after a very tedious illness: a little before her death she delivered her five children, being three sons and two daughters, to the care of the princes of Migonne and of Ouve; and solemnly repenting of the idolatrous life she had led, called them to witness that she recanted her errors and died persuaded of the truths of Christianity, in the belief of which she had been educated.

It was remarkable that some severe words which she spoke to her husband when delirious, affected him so very violently, that he never rightly recovered. For, in something more than a month after, he convened the general assembly of the states, before whom, and with their unanimous consent, he appointed the princes of Migonne and of Ouve administrators of the affairs of the empire, during the minority of his eldest son Comara Singastanne: this office they modestly declined, but the choice of the young prince corresponding with the nomination of the emperor, who declared that grief and sickness disabled him from attending to affairs of state, they were obliged to submit; and a patent, confirming them in this important station, the day following, passed the great seal.

The emperor, in a few days after, delivered his heir apparent, and the other children to whom the states and administrators had sworn allegiance, to the care of the two princes, by whom they were privately sent to the dukedom of Cocklecorle, that being thus secured in a private retreat, their lives might be safe from ill designs; but they were soon after forced to remove them to another place, on the following occasion.

Gael Heneraed, governor of Harcissate and president of the dukedom of Cocklecorle, who had been long in the Portuguese interest, and had pri-

vately supplied them with provisions at Walane, had lately entered into articles with them, supported by some discontented noblemen, to murder the emperor's issue, such of the nobility as dared to oppose them, and the princes administrators. This intelligence was given to the prince of Migonne by a Bramin, and thereupon he suddenly at the head of a body of troops, went against a party of Gael's foldiers, who were marching privately with powder, ball and provision to Walane: the commander of them, surprized at the prince's unexpected appearance, tried but in vain, to blunder out an excuse for his march; the prince ordered him to be searched, and a letter the purport of which we have already mentioned, directed to the Portuguese governor, was found in his pocket. When this general saw that things were come to extremity, and that every thing was discovered, he endeavoured with his people to stand on the defensive, but they were all quickly cut to pieces, some few excepted that saved themselves in the woods.

Gael himself, who knew nothing of this transaction, being summoned to court, immediately obeyed; and upon examination exhibited such a shew of innocence, that had not the proofs of his perfidy been beyond contradiction, he must have been acquitted. However, he was confronted by the Bramin, which staggered his resolution, and he confessed the whole, entreating mercy, but refused to discover the names of his accomplices, who were twenty-six in number, all men of distinction; but the inconveniencies of his taciturnity, the well instructed Bramin easily removed; they were all straitway apprehended, and being condemned on the 25th of October, were on the 27th beheaded on a public scaffold, and their bodies thrown to the dogs.

Four of Gael's principal counsellors were quartered and hung over the castle wall of Cocklecorle, their flesh having been previously torn off with red hot pincers, and their hands cut off. Fifty foldiers who had endeavoured to favour the governor's escape, when he was first convicted, were also beheaded; and last of all the governor himself, after having been a spectator of the miserable exit of all his accomplices, had his flesh burned at the corner of every street, with red hot pincers, afterwards he was broke alive upon the wheel, and before he was quite dead, flung to the elephants, one of which threw him to a considerable height, and catching him in his teeth as he fell, crushed him to pieces.

In the year 1614, Don Munno de Feriera arriving at Columbo with the title and authority of viceroy of Goa, sent a solemn embassy to Candy to endeavour to induce the emperor to enter into an alliance with the king of Spain and Portugal, renouncing the friendship of the Dutch; but this request being flatly refused, as well as every offer that Spain and Portugal could pretend to make, the Portuguese marched a strong army consisting of twenty-five thousand men against Candy; but they were met on the road by the emperor's forces, whereby they were routed with considerable loss; and the prince of Migonne, who was principal upon this command, in consequence of his victory, was received with great joy on his return to Candy. Another body of the enemy were soon after defeated by the emperor's forces, which thereby obtained a large quantity of provisions and ammunition that they had under convoy; tho' in another attempt of the same nature, which was made shortly after, a considerable number of imperial troops being betrayed, were cut to pieces, two only escaping.

About

About the end of this year, a bloody war broke out between the kings of Botecalo and Palugam, occasioned by the murder of some ambassadors of the latter, as they passed thro' Botecalo; the consequence of which, was fortune justly declaring in favour of the king of Palugam, who saw his enemy not only treacherously killed, but himself put in possession of the kingdom that belonged to the deceased.

The succours, which had been so long promised by the states of Holland not arriving so expeditiously as was hoped for and expected, Marcellus de Boschhouwer, otherwise the prince of Migonne, who had already attained the highest honours that a subject in the island of Ceylon could arrive at, determined, with permission of the East India company's governors and directors in that part of the world, to embark for Europe, to hasten their coming; the emperor giving him the title of his ambassador extraordinary, and a carte blanche, to stipulate with whom and in whatever manner he pleased, such articles of commerce, or treaty of peace, as he should think most for his imperial majesty's advantage.

He arrived in Europe after a very prosperous voyage, in very few months, but not being received by the Dutch with that cordial affection and true esteem which he imagined his services merited, and they certainly deserved much, he withdrew himself from the allegiance of the states of Holland, taking with him his treasure, and retired to Denmark about the middle of the year 1617, where he entered into a treaty of peace and commerce with the Danish king, in the name of the king of Ceylon, by whom he was furnished with a man-of war and yacht to carry him back: he went aboard in March 1618, with his lady, who challenged the rank and title of princess of Migonne,

gonne, and a large retinue, attended by five ships, commanded by Gule Gedde a Danish nobleman; but he died upon the voyage, which was extremely distressful, the ships being near two years before they made the island of Ceylon, where they put into different harbours.

Gule Gedde immediately sent notice of his arrival to the emperor, recounting the death of the prince of Migonne, and the treaty by him previously made with the king of Denmark; which Campapi refused to ratify, alledging that he had not given the prince any authority of that nature; so that the Danes had nothing to compensate the expence of the expedition, but the private fortune of poor Boschhouwer, which was on board; and which Gule Gedde immediately seized for the use of the king his master, sending his lady, who had saved a little from the wreck, to Candy, from which place in about seven years after, she was sent with some attendants to Tranquebar. Gule Gedde soon set sail for Denmark, after having hovered sometime about the coast, and lost one of his ships, which being seized upon by the crew of Trinquenemale, was by this misconduct split upon a rock; and the soldiers and sailors who saved themselves by the help of the boat on the coast of Corromandel, listed some in the Portuguese, and others in the Dutch service.

The Portuguese being, by his departure, rid of their fears from that quarter, took every step that to them appeared best for securing the trade of the whole island to themselves, excluding every other European nation. To which purpose, tho' they had, in express terms, positively agreed with the emperor to erect no more forts, yet partly by fraud and partly by force, they found means to run up two new fortifications, which, with what they possessed before, made the number of their  
 strong



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strong holds seven, whereby they were become masters of the principal avenues of the island. The emperor finding himself, by these encroachments, laid under very severe restrictions, resolved to make a bold push for the extirpation of the Portuguese, especially as he was promised assistance by the Cingalese inhabiting Columbo, which was their principal fortress. Some Cingalese who had insinuated themselves into the good graces of Constantine de Saa, the governor of the place, persuaded him to draw out all his forces to the siege of Ouve, induced thereto by some fresh quarrel, to which he was the more easily inclined, as a body of Cingalese, amounting to eight thousand, assured him of their readiness to follow his fortune. These taking advantage of a very violent storm, whereby the Portuguese were disabled from using their firelocks, as well as the approach of the emperor's army, turned tail upon their allies, and being seconded by the imperial troops, attacked them in flank as they descended a hill, firing upon them from the covert of a wood; after which they fell in among them pell-mell, and with scymetar in hand, made a prodigious slaughter, and put them entirely to flight, scarcely any of them escaping.

The head of the general Constantine de Saa was cut off by one of the revolting Cingalese, who laying it on a drum head presented it to one of the emperor's sons, as he was refreshing his body in an adjacent brook. It is indisputable that De Saa merited a better fate, and more sincerity from the Cingalese of Columbo, to whom he had been always extremely beneficent and humane.

This defeat occasioned a general consternation among the Portuguese, but more particularly at Columbo, which place there were scarcely any troops left to defend, unless a few inhabitants, and none of these in the bloom of youth, merited that

that name: this encouraged the emperor to send his youngest son Mahastanne, afterwards called Raja Singa, to lay siege to that important place, which was accordingly done. But Lancelotte de Sefies, who succeeded Constantine de Saa in the government of it, made a defence so gallant and surprising, that Raja Singa, after having spent a month before the walls, to no other purpose than that of losing a great number of men, and wasting a considerable deal of ammunition and provision, was obliged to raise the siege; the town was soon after reinforced by four hundred men from Goa with provisions, arms, ammunition, &c. so that the garrison once more held up its head, and bid defiance to the attacks of its enemies, nor did the Cingalese think it at all to the purpose to return to the charge.

## C H A P. IX.

*The emperor dies; his dominions divided: Raja Singa assumes the imperial authority: makes peace with the Portuguese, which they violate: he solicits an alliance with the Dutch, to whom he allows vast immunities: the Portuguese plunder Candy: are drawn into an ambuscade, and entirely destroyed: they lose Batecalo and Caliture: the city of Puntegale is taken by storm: a strong body of Portuguese defeated: the city of Columbo besieged: an embassy from the king of Ceylon to the Dutch general Hulsi, promising to assist in the siege: the garrison's provision begins to run short: the emperor arrives in the neighbourhood of the Dutch camp, visited by the general, who is magnificently entertained: the general dies of a wound.*

**T**HE old emperor dying in 1632, his three sons shared among them his dominions; the youngest assuming the imperial title, under the name of Raja Singa Adascyn, and on the death of his eldest brother, seizing upon the province of Ouve, which the latter had inherited, without offering to divide it with his second brother Visia Palla Hastanne, which occasioned between them an irreconcilable rupture.

In the mean time the Portuguese having forced most of the lowland princes to side with them, endeavoured to make some farther progress in the heart of the country, but the new emperor surprized them in their camp, and obliged them to retreat precipitately to Columbo; and indeed it was generally their fate to be repulsed, when they attempted to make a lodgment in the mountains. They afterwards concluded a temporary peace with him, but broke thro' the articles of it the first favourable

favourable opportunity: so that the emperor was forced to solicit the assistance of the Dutch, in a letter to the governor of Paliacatta, by name Charles Reyniers; who took such measures that a firm alliance was entered into with his imperial majesty, against the Portuguese; the Dutch being in return allowed to load some of their ships with cinnamon and pepper. About the same time there happened an engagement between the Portuguese and Dutch fleets off Goa, in which the former was worsted, and their naval force in this part of the world thereby considerably impaired, as in consequence of it they lost two or three of their ships richly laden.

They began now, on many accounts, to suspect the emperor's confederacy with the Dutch; and in order to destroy it effectually, their generals De Melo, Damijao Bottado, and Sorde, unanimously resolved to march against Candy, by taking which place, they imagined they should weaken Raja Singa considerably.

The emperor having notice given him of their design, retired from that town, taking with him all that was valuable to the mountains; whither, as he suspected, the enemy having plundered and afterwards set fire to the place, precipitately followed, imagining that he was in such circumstances as to be quite unable to repel their attacks. But they soon found themselves miserably mistaken; for the emperor, who was strongly incamped, when they came into the midst of the mountains, ordered every avenue by which they had advanced, or thro' which they could have any hope of retreating, to be blocked up with great trees that were cut down on the spot, and could not, by the bare strength of man, be possibly removed; after which proceeding, he watched the first favourable opportunity of assailing them, and a violent storm

of

of rain having damaged their fire arms very considerably, he made a general attack with all his forces; whereby they were soon put into disorder, and a total rout ensued; the slaughter was very great, for out of two thousand three hundred Portuguese and Moors, not above seventy escaped with life, and these were spared thro' the clemency of the conqueror, who made them prisoners.

The Portuguese lost in this engagement all their great officers, and among them their brave general de Melo, whose sword was afterwards presented to the emperor, who had viewed the whole affair from a high land, on the opposite side of a river that watered the place wherein the battle was fought; and the heads of the deceased enemies were piled before him in a heap forming a pyramid. The emperor, after this victory, marched his army against the fort of Batecalo, while the Dutch admiral Westerwold made an attack upon it by sea, and in nine days it surrendered upon conditions, the Portuguese and Mistices, to the number of one hundred and eight, being transported with their wives and children to Negapnatam; and fifty Cingalese, who had been concerned in murdering a gentleman belonging to the emperor of Ceylon's court, were impaled alive, while some others that were taken were enslaved.

After the surrender of this fortress, there was a new treaty of peace and commerce concluded between Ceylon and Holland, which was sealed and signed by the emperor on the one part for himself, his seal being the head of his scymetar impressed upon red wax, and by admiral Westerwold and William Jacob Roster, for the states of Holland, on the other: the substance of these articles was much to the same purpose as those before made with Boschhouwer; and in consequence of them the Dutch were immediately supplied with four hundred



hundred bales of cinnamon, eighty seven quintals of wax, and three thousand fifty nine pounds of pepper, to re-imburse the extraordinary charges they had been at in assisting the emperor; who moreover sent two ambassadors to Batavia, with several considerable presents, and a ratification of the treaty, addressed to the general and council of the Indies. These ambassadors were received with extraordinary respect, and sent back to Ceylon with great honour. This transaction happened in the year 1638.

In the month of March, of the very same year, the city of Puntegale, more commonly called Gale, was taken by storm, vice admiral Koster leading the attack; it was afterwards made one of the strongest fortified places the Dutch have in the East Indies: it has a very commodious bay, but at the entrance of the harbour there is a dangerous rock, to avoid which a good pilot is very necessary; besides, the road lies close under the cannon of the fort. The city is defended by three strong bastions, and so surrounded by rocks, that it is scarcely to be approached by the smallest boat. There is a lanthorn by way of beacon, a cannon for giving signal, and the company's colours planted upon an angle that juts pretty far into the sea. The city is well built; the houses built of stone are high, with handsome gardens and excellent springs; and there are good roads cut round it thro' a rocky ground.

In October 1655, Caleture, a place of some strength surrounded with an earthen wall, and not unpleasantly situated, surrendered to general Hulst, the Portuguese garrison, consisting of two hundred and fifty-five men, having stipulated that they should, at the company's charge, be sent home to Europe. There was found in this place a very large quantity of military stores, and Ysbraad Godskens was made governor of it, with a suffi-

ent body of men under his command to protect it : Gaspar Figueiro was on his march to relieve it at the same time with six hundred soldiers, of which proceedings the Dutch having received intelligence from a casual prisoner, some forces set out immediately to meet them, nor was it long before they came up with, engaged and routed them, then pursued their way to Columbo, to which place not above one hundred and sixty, out of the six hundred men that had accompanied Figueiro, returned.

About the middle of October, the Dutch general prepared for the siege of Columbo : and on the 23d he received a letter from the emperor of Ceylon, written by himself, with strong assurances of friendship ; it was brought by one of his own special postmen, and was curiously perfumed ; on each side of the writing was figured a woman with her hands folded and her eyes raised to Heaven.

On the 26th, some useful intelligence was obtained from a Dutchman, who had formerly deserted to the Portuguese, and who now thought proper to return to his colours ; and the same day some batteries being finished, several pieces of cannon were brought to play upon one quarter of the town.

On the 4th of November, general Hulst received a very kind embassy from Raja Singa, by the person of Tenecon Apuhamy, who was adorned with a golden breast-plate set with precious stones and fastened to a gold chain.

On the 9th, the Portuguese governor was summoned to surrender, but he rejected the proposal ; in consequence whereof, a general assault was made on the place the 12th, but the general's receiving a wound in the thigh, threw things into some confusion and respited the town a few months longer : in this attempt lieutenant Melchior Van Schonbeek, a noble German, mounted the bastion of St. John, where,

where, not being seconded, he died desperately fighting; and his head was afterwards exposed on the same bastion stuck on a pike. Shortly after, a fleet of thirty Portuguese frigates, destined for the relief of Columbo, were dispersed by a storm, and most of them lost; about which time the general received another message from Raja Singa, acquainting him, that in spite of the Portuguese, who made many endeavours to alienate his friendship from Holland, he was not only resolved to adhere firmly to his engagements, but to make all possible haste to support the siege with an army of his subjects.

On the 26th, the general was informed by a negro deserter, that the governor's son had been lately killed by a musket ball, as he was encouraging the men upon the works; and that a mine was ready to be sprung under the bastion of St. John, the first time he should attack it. The inhabitants of the town began now to be in want of provisions, so that those who were able to bear arms were forced by hunger to enlist, while the women and children were permitted to sally out on the Dutch camps, and became at last so troublesome that the general gave orders they should be whipped back to the bastion of St. John: besides, by the best accounts it appeared, that the provisions of the garrison could not hold out above a couple of months longer, as their rice already began not only to run short, but to be stony and unclean.

The emperor being now encamped in the neighbourhood of the Dutch, signified by a letter, that he expected a visit from the general, according to which intimation, his excellency set out on the 5th of April for his majesty's quarters with a large retinue. Here he was received with prodigious magnificence, and lodged in a house prepared purposely for his reception, the bed chambers of which

## AND THE DISPUTES THERE. 119

which were furnished with gold stuffs, and the other rooms hung with white linen. As he approached it he was met by a party of soldiers, umbrella carriers, trumpeters, and other musicians; eleven elephants, and two fine horses richly caparisoned and ornamented with gold and precious stones. The day following variety and plenty of provisions were brought in a boat for the use of the general and his people; but the emperor being very ill, for which he had been blooded in the arm, gave some room to fear that his excellency, whose presence before Columbo was certainly necessary, would be obliged to return without the honour of the interview that had occasioned his journey.

His majesty being informed that the general had an intention of that sort, by letter signified, that, notwithstanding his disorder, he would give him audience next day being April 8.

Accordingly about noon the ensuing day, the emperor's drums, trumpets, and private music, with three of his choicest horses elegantly caparisoned, appeared on the opposite side of the river, accompanied by some persons of the first quality in order to grace his excellency's train, which immediately crossed the river with his excellency at the head of it, where he was received by the captain of the emperor's body guard; and then proceeded to the imperial quarters in the following manner.

First, his excellency's body guards, then the ensigns and standards taken from the foe trailing along the ground; after these came the emperor's horses and musicians, with five tame elephants, and the way thro' which they passed was lined with soldiers. When the Hollanders entered the palace, the doors were shut after them, and they were introduced into a hall where his imperial majesty sat on a throne, which had several steps whereby to ascend it. Here all the courtiers prostrated themselves

selves upon the ground, and the Dutch on their knees, till his majesty by a nod gave them a signal to rise. When the general came near the throne he made an elegant speech, wherein he assured his majesty of his firm attachment to him, and his high sense of the honour allowed him in being permitted to make this address, as well as of the strong inclination the states of Holland had to preserve an amity with him, and to assist in clearing his dominions from a set of people, who paid scarcely any respect to treaty or alliance, when their interest taught them to violate it.

Afterwards he presented him some presents, of little value in themselves, and kneeling on a cushion, set for that purpose at the foot of the throne, had the honour to kiss his majesty's hand, who threw over his neck a golden collar, and on his finger put a precious ring; after which ceremony he retired at a little distance, and here recapitulated the advantages he had gained over the enemy; to which the emperor listened with vast pleasure; and calling him a second time to the throne, invested him with a garter of gold, which he assured him had been worn by the prince himself.

After this ceremony, the presents intended for his majesty were brought, among which were a white buckler that had formerly belonged to a Portuguese nobleman, and an Indian scymetar, the hilt whereof was a curious inlay of gold and agat; in laying the latter at his majesty's feet, the general told him that it was a gift intended for the young prince to employ, when in riper years, against his enemies, nay even against the Dutch themselves, should they ever merit his displeasure. Nor was this compliment made without having a very good effect upon the emperor.

The company's presents to the emperor besides were two beautiful Persian hunters, a couple of  
Persian



Persian bows, with arrows and quivers curiously embroidered, a Turkey gun, a rich Japonese gown, two grey-hounds, two Persian sheep, two rock-goats of Visapoar, and a piece of Sandal wood.

Their presents for the prince were one fine Persian horse, two fuzees, the barrels of them remarkably neat, one silver basin, two pieces of Persian stuff wrought with gold, two silver boxes of China, one piece of Sandal wood, and a hog-stone.

All these things having been examined, the attendants were ordered to withdraw, and the general had a private conference for about a quarter of an hour with his imperial majesty, and was afterwards conducted back to his lodgings in great pomp: whence he set out next morning, being the 9th of April, for his camp, where he arrived that evening, and found matters on the side of the besiegers advance greatly; but on the 10th, as he was encouraging the workmen and soldiers on one of the batteries, he received a shot in his breast, whereof he died in a few hours, and in him the Dutch lost one of the best officers they ever had in India.

## C H A P. X.

*The siege of Columbo continued: the city surrenders: behaviour of the conquerors misrepresented: Dutch Deserters punished: Raja Singa quarrels with his allies; treats with the Portuguese; uses the Dutch ill: Thyssen routs some of his people, and detains some elephants: Raja Singa reduces a Dutch settlement: succours arrive from Batavia: the island of Manaar invaded and taken from the Portuguese, and entirely reduced by the Dutch: vanity of a negro: Jesuits careful of instructing the people: the Portuguese retire before the Dutch, who lay siege to Jasnapatnam; the town is reduced, and the castle, after some time, submits upon terms: miserable condition of the garrison: a plot fomented by the Portuguese discovered, and the ring-leaders punished: the whole island reduced by the Dutch: happiness of this alliance to the emperor.*

THE siege went on briskly notwithstanding the general's death, who was succeeded in command by Adrian Vander Meyden, governor of Puntegale, and the besieged were reduced to such distress, that a woman was known to eat her child; and to increase their calamity, the Portuguese fleet from Goa, with provision and soldiers to reinforce, and relieve them, was defeated by some ships belonging to Holland, near Tutecoryn, while some succours arrived from Batavia at the Dutch camp.

May the 7th, his excellency gave orders for a general assault upon the town; but could only carry one bastion, and that with much difficulty; however, he secured a lodgment upon it, the guns of which was turned upon the town; in consequence whereof a white flag was hung out over the walls:

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and the day following being May the 12th 1656, the town surrendered upon conditions, the Portuguese garrison marching out with all the honours of war, drums beating and colours flying, to the head-quarters, where they surrendered themselves; and a party of the triumphant forces immediately entered, taking possession of the place, and advancing the Dutch standard: thus did this important place fall into the hands of the Dutch, after a siege of near nine months, and after having been in possession of the Portuguese one hundred and fifty years.

From thirteen hundred people that had been in the town at the beginning of the siege, the number was reduced to one hundred and ninety; among whom were some lame and decrepit, who had to the last assisted to the best of their power in defence of the place, which it was justly imagined cost the Hollanders more than three thousand men, and as much money as would have built another Columbo.

The Portuguese reported that the Dutch, on the surrender of it, were guilty of the greatest disorders, permitting the inhabitants to be plundered, the prisoners to be abused, and the images and churches to be profaned and despoiled, contrary to the tenor of the articles agreed upon between the commanders: but the truth of this imputation the Dutch have flatly denied; for our author assures us, that so far was this from being true, that a soldier was whipped for petty larceny; so very strict, says he, was discipline observed by Vander Meyden. Several Dutch deserters, who were not admitted to share the benefit of the treaty, were gibbeted as soon as taken; among whom was Simon Lopez de Basto, who had done considerable damage to the besiegers.

The plunder found in the town consisted of about seven loads of musty rice, some packs of cinnamon; good store of arrack; twenty four light

frigates, nine of them sunk ; fifteen hundred gilders in ready money, thirty-three packs of cloth, twenty-five bells of good metal, sixty brass and sixty-eight iron cannon, one mortar, ten thousand cannon-bullets, sixty-five thousand pound of gunpowder, besides one hundred and fifteen pound weight that was damaged, with a large quantity of brimstone and salt-peter. Shortly after, Raja Singa wrote a very severe letter to the Dutch general, complaining, that he had not received any formal advice of the surrender of Columbo, which he alledged, according to a treaty subsisting between him and the late general Hullst, ought to have been delivered up to him. But this was not the intention of the Dutch : however, Vander Meyden sent back an answer by way of excuse, couched in the most respectful terms, and a present of a falcon, a sparrow-hawk, and a Persian falconer : notwithstanding which his people grew very troublesome, annoying small scattering parties of the Dutch wherever they chanced to meet them, and endeavouring to cut off their supplies. Besides, advice was brought by two deserters, that he had entered into a private treaty with the Portuguese, and granted them some profitable settlements ; and the truth of this appeared in the sequel ; for he not only made slaves of some of the Hollanders who fell into his hands, but cut off the ears, and slit the noses of such of their slaves as chanced to fall into his power. And, to make things still worse for the Dutch, the Cingalese who were in their service betrayed all their measures, while they were, at no rate, able to fathom the designs of Raja Singa ; tho' there was some reason to think, that his real intention was to play the Dutch against the Portuguese, and the Portuguese against the Dutch, siding always with the weakest side, in order to prevent thereby either from growing too unweildy for him to manage ;

nage; in which case, natural policy told him his crown would be in danger, which was at length the consequence of the Europeans having obtained a firm footing in the island.

It is certain, however, that after the taking of Columbo, and finding that the place and some others which had surrendered were not delivered into his hands, a condescension he had always expected, he was never firmly reconciled to the Dutch, tho' the Portuguese had no great reason to triumph in his defection. Shortly after the surrender of Columbo, Raja Singa, jealous of the advantages which the Dutch seemed to possess, connived at many robberies committed by his people, who began to grow at length so very daring, that Mr. John Thyssen, the company's agent in these parts, was obliged to declare open war against them, and detained some tame elephants belonging to the king.

His majesty was so much provoked at this insult, that he attacked and reduced one of the Dutch settlements; a success, the advantage of which was destroyed by the arrival of Minheer Maabzuyker from Batavia with some forces, who took the best methods of strengthening the several fortifications, and securing the gathering of the cinnamon in safety, while Raja Singa retreated; but from behaving with vast circumspection towards them, it was evident that they were not enemies.

In a journey which our author made over land in the year 1661, from Jafnapatnam to Columbo, he observed, that in all that space, being about fifty leagues, there grew no cinnamon, except on the opposite side of the river Chilaco; but, as the country is extremely fertile in the spontaneous productions of many necessaries, so it is destitute of inhabitants; and buffaloes are found feeding every where in vast herds: there is room to believe, that if it was



stocked with people, it would turn out a valuable tract.

In the year 1658, the Hollanders, commanded by Mr. Rijklof Van Goens, landed upon the island of Manaar, which was formerly joined to the main land; and, notwithstanding that entrenchments were thrown up along the shore-side, and defended by twelve frigates and a thousand Portuguese, they advanced with courage and success, making themselves masters of the island with no more loss of any consequence than that of an ensign and a lieutenant; while on the Portuguese side, there fell many brave officers, among whom were the general Antonio, admiral de Menezes, and Anthonio Mendez D'Aranha.

The Portuguese, most of whose frigates were sunk, finding they could not hold the place, crossed the water to Jafnapatnam, leaving a few soldiers, most of whom afterwards deserted, in possession of the castle of St. George, under command of Andrew Villosa, who in a few days surrendered and had good terms: there were two hundred prisoners taken here, reckoning both Europeans and negroes; among whom was an African negro, who in a point of necessity being entrusted with a captain's post, immediately conceived himself a great man, and insisted upon his rank till he was bastinadoed out of it into a slave again.

Manaar is a compound of two Malabar words, Man and Aar, the former signifying land, and the latter a river; it is about two German leagues and a half long, and one broad, including the salt water river. The castle of St. George is seated on a canal that communicates with Jafnapatnam, and will bear small yachts, drawing between three and four feet water; it is surrounded with a deep ditch, and the Dutch have strengthened it with several additional fortifications. It had been once famous for  
a pearl

a pearl fishery, whereby the inhabitants were enriched; but that mine of treasure failing, they were soon impoverished: however, it was set on foot again by the Dutch in 1666, and was carried on with tolerable success.

The Malabar language is that which is most commonly spoken in Manaar, where most of the inhabitants are Christians; for which reason they were sorely oppressed by the king of Jasnapatnam: few of them are unacquainted with the Portuguese tongue. They were first converted by St. Francis Xavier the great apostle of the Indies, who appointed certain teachers in every district: these at first were friars, but they were succeeded by Jesuits, called Paulists, in this part of the world, because sent hither first by pope Paul III. and it is certain that they were indefatigable in their mission, and taught the first principles of christianity with great care and attention.

This island is inhabited by fishermen, who make some money by preserving and drying their commodity, and then exporting it for sale to the neighbouring coasts. There is an amphibious animal of the sea-calf species, the females of which have breasts and nipples, whereby they give suck to their young, their flesh is very white, and might be mistaken for veal when boiled, eating not unlike sturgeon. Mr. Rijklof Van Goens having left a good garrison in Manaar, crossed the river towards Jasnapatnam, which tho' very broad, was easily forded; this part of the country being called Mantotte, is very fertile in rice, which is however often trampled down by the wild elephant. They expected the Portuguese would have attacked them, passing the river, but were disappointed; for tho' they might have easily done it, the opposite bank being very muddy, yet they chose to retreat to the head spring of the river: when the Dutch had all

near passed over, the inhabitants received them very civilly, furnishing them with all manner of fruits and provisions. Near Sandecouli they had a smart engagement with a small body of Portuguese, whom they routed, and encamped for that night on the spot where they had skirmished.

The ensuing day they advanced towards the city of Jafnapatnam, breaking thro' the walls and houses; for it had no fortifications, and chasing the Portuguese from street to street, a small train of artillery which they had brought with them being of especial service in this case. By the 18th of March they became master of the Dominican monastery, and indeed of the whole town, the enemy retiring to the castle into which the inhabitants of the country thronged along with them, so that it was so crouded there was no disposing of the people to advantage, they being a hinderance to each other, instead of being a mutual assistance. Here they shut themselves up, and the Dutch attacked one of its strongest forts, which, for want of fresh water was forced to surrender upon conditions, the soldiers being allowed to march out with all military honours, and a promise made by the Dutch general, that they should be transported to Europe, if they chose it, at the company's expence.

Provisions, assistance, and supplies of all sorts being cut off from the castle, it surrendered, after sustaining a siege of more than three months; the garrison being allowed to march out drums beating, and colours flying, taking with them also one piece of cannon; and having stipulated that they should be transported to Europe, the head officers, among whom were John de Mels, Leonardo d'Olievero, Viador de Fazendas, and Antonio Mendez D'Aranha, to be civilly treated, and allowed to pass to any of their own forts; the ecclesiastics were to be carried to the coast of Coromandel,

mandel, and the gold, silver, and jewels, with other valuable commodities, to be left to the discretion of the conquerors.

The garrison was two days crawling out, being so very weak that they were unable to drag after them the single piece of cannon they had stipulated for, having lost sixteen hundred men during the siege. When the Dutch army entered the place they found it almost battered to pieces, by the bombs that had been thrown into it; and the stench arising from the dead bodies and filth wherewith it was almost choaked up, was intolerable. The first thing the conquerors did, was to appoint Jacob Rhee, a man of a solid understanding, commander in the place pro tempore, and he immediately took off the duty upon tobacco, which immunity encouraged the inhabitants of the country to come in and assist in levelling the ruins of the houses, which encumbered the castle, removing the filth, clearing the springs, and planting, by way of ornament, three hundred cocoa-trees.

As many of the Portuguese had, on the reduction of Jafnapatnam, entered the Dutch service, they were admitted as part of the garrison; whereupon they entered into a conspiracy to murder all their officers, and the rest of the conquerors party, during the time of sermon; but it being happily discovered to Mr. Jacob Vander Rhea, the guards were doubled, the castle gates shut, and all the traitors secured, some of whom, being plainly convicted, were hanged, and others beheaded.

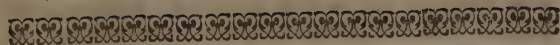
The three principal conductors of this bloody design were a Manáar and two Portuguese, who after being stretched on the wheel, were struck with the ax in the neck and on the breast, their hearts being afterwards taken out, and laid while yet warm on their mouths. Among others that suffered death in this affair was a sick Jesuit, who had nei-

ther consented to, nor abetted their designs; but some of them had revealed it in craving his benediction, and for his concealing the secret he lost his head. The castle of Jafnapatnam is a quadrangle, strongly fortified, and surrounded with high walls; it is the capital of the kingdom, and takes up more ground than the castle of Batavia. In a short time after the reduction of it, Philip D'Olivero met with and defeated a large body of Cingalese near Achiavelli, which place he also possessed himself of, tho' belonging to the emperor of Ceylon.

In the neighbourhood of a large pagode, the remains of which are still visible, is a miraculous spring, twenty-four roods wide, cut out of an entire rock; the inhabitants say that it was caused by a thunder-bolt.

The city of Negapatnam was shortly after reduced by the power of the Hollanders, and all the other strong-holds in the hands of the Portuguese shared the same fate, one after another; that at length Portugal lost all her interest in this island, and the trade of the cinnamon and other valuable commodities produced here were wholly engrossed by the Dutch, who having no European enemies to contend with, acted in the most tyrannical manner, and convinced the emperor in process of time, that tho' the Portuguese were treacherous over-reaching neighbours, disobedient subjects, and unfaithful allies, the Dutch were still worse, and he suffered considerably in the exchange; indeed he merited no better for his very unfaithful dealings with each party.





A VOYAGE to the North of Europe, containing an Account of the Sea-Coasts and Mines of NORWAY and the LAPLANDS, SIBERIA, BORANDIA, ICELAND, ZEMBLA, and other Countries, interspersed with curious Remarks: to which are added, some authentic Memoirs, relating to the ancient Manners and Customs of the RUSSIANS. Extracted from the Observations of a Gentleman, employed by the North-Sea Company at COPENHAGEN, to make Discoveries.

## C H A P. I.

*Some account of this treatise, and the author of it: the occasion of his voyage: the creek of Schalot described: the ship in danger of running aground: arrives on the Norwegian coast: the author lands at Obslo, where he is well received: he sets forward on an island excursion; the buildings, beasts, birds, and manner of the Norwegians described: he goes upon an elk chase, and is very hospitably treated by a country gentleman: the falling-sickness in beasts: the ship sets sail for Berghen.*

THOUGH the following voyage is near an hundred years old, it ought not to be overlooked for many reasons; particularly because it describes the soil and manners of countries, with which we are as yet but indifferently acquainted; and that while the candor with which

it is delivered claims our attention, many circumstances of it are pregnant with entertainment, as well as conducive to knowledge. It was written by a gentleman who was appointed surgeon to a ship fitted out by the North-Sea company, under the king of Denmark's royal licence, with two others, for the improvement of commerce, and making discoveries towards the Arctic pole; and we shall pursue the account in the same natural order in which he has delivered it, except his memoirs concerning Russia, which as they break in upon the thread of his narration, we shall divide from the main body of it, and insert by way of appendix.

In the beginning of April 1653, proceeds our author, having taken in all our lading, together with provision and other necessary stores, having a good gale at south-east, and fair weather, we sailed from the port of Copenhagen, in company with two other ships. We soon made Kat-Gat, a freight dividing the German from the Baltic Sea; it is a rocky dangerous passage, extending from Elsenore to Schagerhort, which cannot be less than forty leagues.

When we arrived abreast of Mailstrand, a small sea-port city, thirty leagues from Copenhagen, the wind veering to the northward drove us back at least ten leagues, and forced us into Schalot, the first port we could make. Here we cast anchor, under shelter of the castle, which has a ruined desolate appearance; but it is a good road for shipping, and its promontory is well known to all who use the Baltic trade: here we staid three days, and on the fourth, by break of day, the wind coming about to the eastward, we weighed anchor and proceeded on our voyage; but, in about four hours, we met the wind again contrary, and blowing hard, so that we were forced to quit the coast of Gottenburgh, in view of which we then were, and stand

stand over towards that of Jutland; here we drove at a great rate, keeping the lead always going, on account of the shallows with which this road abounds; notwithstanding which, had not we had a skilful pilot and able sailors, we should have run aground, being at one place in three fathom and a half water; but we made a quick tack, and gaining the advantage of the wind in half an hour's time, founded at fifteen fathoms water.

We held on our way here along the sands, about the space of two leagues, when tho' we furled all our sails, except the top-mast, and did our utmost to keep clear of it, we were drove into an eddy, where we were as settled as if we had cast anchor: we should have found it hard to have got clear of this had not the wind varied a point or two to the south-east, blowing fresh, whereby we were enabled to pass it. After a few days course we had sight of Christiansand in Norway, a promontory that takes its name from a small village at the foot of it, where there is a safe harbour. Our stay here was very short; for the next day we proceeded to Christiana or Oslo, the capital city of one of the five governments of that kingdom.

Here the company's agents gave us a very cordial reception; and one of them a merchant, in very great esteem, to whom I was in some measure known, behaved to me with prodigious civility; for he not only satisfied my curiosity, by pointing to me every thing that was worth shewing, but commanded one of his servants, who spoke tolerable French, to attend me in a small excursion into the country the day following. We rode to a large village called Wisby, situated between two hills, about nine miles from Christiana, the houses whereof are built of wood, and covered with turf; they are very low, without either iron work or window, except a lattice on the top, whereby the light is admitted

admitted. It is necessary to observe here, to prevent the two from being confounded, that the capital of Gothland, where the famous marine laws were made, bears the same denomination.

The peasants of Norway are all fisher-men, and slaves to the nobility, but remarkably simple and hospitable; the women, who look after the cattle, of which here is great plenty, are very handsome, tho' red haired, and fond of strangers: they are also excellent housewives, and in general make their own family cloth. The country affords good game, as elks, stags, roe-bucks, boars, goats, rabbits, hares, otters, linxes, and wild-cats of various colours, together with good store of wild-fowl. Norway is a mountainous country, affording good pasturage and excellent wood, but very little grain: however, the inhabitants are well supplied from other parts. In our return to Christiana, we met one of the neighbouring gentlemen with two servants and a pack of dogs, going upon an elk chace; and understanding from my attendant, whom he knew, that I was a stranger, he invited us to partake of his diversion; to which I was not averse, having time enough to spare. After riding with him about a mile we met his huntsman, together with more of his servants, and ten or twelve boors, who led us three miles farther into a wood full of bushes, at the entrance of which we dismounted, and gave our horses in charge to one of his grooms.

The game had been prepared the preceding day by this gentleman's vassals; in consequence of which, we had scarce gone forty yards before we perceived an elk, who had not advanced far when he dropped down dead, being seized, as they told me, with the falling-sickness, from whence they derive their name of elk, which signifies a miserable creature; and thus it seems they often fall at the beginning  
of

of the chace, without affording the least sport. Had not this accident happened, I believe we should have found it hard to have run him down; for we were more than two hours in pursuit of the next, which I do not think we should ever have caught, had he not been also seized with a fit; however, he killed two of the dogs with his fore-feet, which were extremely regretted by their owner, who thereupon quitted the chace. He sent home for a cart to draw off the game, and insisted on our going with him to his castle, which was about four miles from Wisby; it was an odd sort of building, void of elegance or taste; but our entertainment was plentiful and agreeable.

At my departure my host presented me with the left legs of the elks, assuring me that they were an excellent cure for the falling-sickness; but I undeceived him with respect to his opinion, by observing to him, that this must be a vulgar error, since it was a disorder of which this beast could not cure himself; and he was induced to own that he had long suspected the truth of this medicine's being effectual, but he was now convinced that it was not, as well as induced to believe that eating this animal's flesh communicated the disorder; and many instances could be produced of the ill effects of such food.

We lay at this gentleman's seat all night, and after breakfast next morning returned to Christiana, whence after a few days stay we hoisted sail for Berghen, which is one of the best harbours in Europe, and wherein we were commissioned partly to unlade: in our passage we were becalmed for five days, during which we caught as much fish as served us for a long time after.



## C H A P. II.

*A description of Berghen, and its peculiar traffick: a certain company of merchants whimsically regulated in that town: our author reaches Drontheim, and sets out for the copper and silver mines: his entertainment there: he descends into a mine, which is described: in danger of a fit: the regulations and pastimes of the miners: the hospitality of a peasant: he returns to Drontheim, and continues his voyage northward: the ship's crew purchase a wind of a conjurer.*

**B**ERGHEN is divided into the upper and lower town; the latter is built on the sea-shore, the former higher up on the rocks: it is a large town, and a place of great trade, having formerly been an archbishop's see; but it has not been acknowledged such since the reformation, which prevails here as well as in the king of Denmark's other dominions. The bishop's palace was given to the Hans towns for the residence of their antient merchants, so long as they continued single; but if they marry, they are still obliged to remove. The merchants are called monks, altho' they labour under no other restrictions, and the ware-houses bear the name of cloisters. Berghen was formerly under the jurisdiction of a convent: the principal branch of its trade is herring, cod, and stock-fish, which sell well in Muscovy, Sweden, Poland, Denmark, Germany, and other parts of Europe.

Part of our lading being consigned at Drontheim, to the surveyor of the copper and silver mines, for the use of the men who laboured in the mines, and consisting principally of bread and beer, we hoisted sail for that place, with the wind at south-

west.

west, but were several days becalmed, and caught a vast quantity of klip-fish, which we barrelled up, having much more than we could consume; they are a species of cod, and called klip-fish in Germany, which signifies rock-fish, from their always lying on or under the rocks.

When we arrived at Drontheim, we applied to the surveyor to unlade us as soon as he could; but he told us, it was what he could not do, there being a particular officer belonging to the mines, where he now was, whose proper office was to superintend the provisions designed for the labourers; however, he offered to send a messenger on horseback for him, whom I obtained permission to accompany. The road to the mines was so very rugged, that we could not reach farther than Steckley that day, which is only eighteen miles from Drontheim. After leaving Steckley, we passed thro' a wood of considerable length, abounding with bears, wolves, and linxes, which render it very dangerous.

The next night we came to our journey's end, and lodged at the forges, where, according to custom, we were entertained by the people who have the care of the mines, with tobacco, beer, and brandy; and our host was so very hospitable, that there was no avoiding going drunk to bed. Here I became acquainted with one of the officers of the mines who spoke French, and who promised, on my expressing a desire to enter them, to be my guide. The next morning, the messenger with whom I came hither set out for Drontheim, together with a person proper to clear the ship; and I breakfasted with the officer who spoke French, and a master-miner at whose house I lay, and who promised to be my guide all the way back.

You may be sure we had a good breakfast, for the Norwegians are very fond of good cheer; after

ter which we walked about sixty paces from the forges before we reached the mouth of one of the mines, being on the top of a high mountain: over it was erected a machine, not unlike a crane, turned by two great wheels, each guided by a man, and by this means the ore is drawn up. Here the master-miner and I, being fixed in a wooden bucket, whereto our hands were bound with iron gantlets, were let down fifty fathom deep.

Never was there seen a prospect more horrid than this, nor a truer picture of the infernal regions; the rugged caverns, the melancholy flames that blazed every where round, and creatures that had a nearer resemblance to fiends than to men, all united to impress the soul with terror. The miners were dressed in black leather coats of mail, and mufflers of the same fastened round their head, just under their eyes, which reached down to the breast; they also have leather aprons on. They have all their different occupations; for while some are employed in dividing the ore from the mass, others search for new veins of metal, and others go in search of those torrents of water, which often burst thro' the earth unexpectedly and overwhelm them all; but however, if these are foreseen, the mischief may be sometimes prevented.

The master-miner imagining I was near being seized with a cold fit, which is common in these places, rung a bell, which being a signal for the people above to draw us up, we soon ascended with the same facility that we had gone down. Never was fresh air more welcome to me, than after having breathed the unwholesome damps of this subterranean dwelling.

This day I dined with the officer who spoke French; he was a man polished by his having travelled, and entertained me with great generosity. After dinner he ordered horses to go to the silver  
mines;

mines; he introduced me to the surveyor, who presented each of us with a large glass of brandy, and then treated us with beer and tobacco; after which he walked with us to the forges, which were about a mile from his house; and we soon after reached the mouth of a mine, down which we went in the same manner as we had done in the copper mines, of which every thing I saw here was a counter part.

The miners never work in winter; and in spring and autumn they only labour three hours before, and three hours after dinner; but in summer they work four hours in the morning and five in the afternoon: the rest of their time they spend very merrily, being fond of dancing and carousals, and having violins, hautboys, and other musical instruments to enliven their spirits; this they are well able to support, being paid a silver crown a day whether they work or not. I had an opportunity of seeing them engaged in their pastimes, the simplicity of which gave me much pleasure. These mines yield a considerable revenue to the king of Denmark; and there is a good deal of silver coined on the spot as it is raised.

Having finished my review of every thing that was worth inquiring into, we went home with the surveyor, who having treated us with the usual collation of brandy, beer, and tobacco, which was succeeded by a plentiful supper, we went to bed. In the morning, the master-miner and I having returned thanks to our host for his kind entertainment, went back to the copper mines; whence, having taken leave of the officer who spoke French, I pursued the road to Drontheim, accompanied by the master-miner.

Night overtaking us before we had reached eight miles on our way, we were forced to quarter in the next village, at the house of a peasant, who  
 thinking

thinking himself highly honoured by the accident, did his utmost to make the place agreeable to us: he first treated us with beer, tobacco, and brandy distilled from malt; after which he gave us for supper a couple of pheasants and a hare, which he had lately killed. When supper was ended, we wallowed in brandy and beer, and were enveloped in clouds of tobacco. The master-miner was at last made dead-drunk; at which the peasant loudly expressed his satisfaction, and made what haste he could to put himself into the same condition: nor was I much better; it is the custom of the country, and not to be avoided among all ranks of people; they have no notion of there being any pleasures in society that don't center in drunkenness and debauchery. When we had finished our dose, we lay down upon clean straw, which was spread upon the floor for that purpose, and slept till morning; when I, being the first up, made the boor's son by signs understand that I wanted the horses to be got ready, being resolved, if possible, to reach Drontheim that night. As soon as I saw that they were saddled, I roused my companion and his host; when having once more eat and drank more than I would chuse to make a daily practice of doing, and taken our last leave of the peasant, we mounted and rode off, reaching Drontheim before the close of day.

In two days after I arrived here, the ship, having cleared out and taken in her stock of provision and other necessaries, set sail with a fair wind to continue her voyage to the northward. After a few days we were becalmed under the arctic polar circle; and some of our crew having gotten into their heads, that the inhabitants of the neighbouring coast, like those of Finland, could rule the elements, and dispose of winds, our captain sent his boat ashore with the mate, whom I chose out of curiosity



curiosity to accompany, to purchase a fair gale, a commodity which we certainly needed much just at that time.

We landed at the first village we saw, and the mate, who could speak a little of the language of the country, soon enquired out the chief necromancer, of whom he would have bought a gale that would last to Mountmanskinere, but his power, as he said himself, did not extend farther than the promontory of Rouxella: however, the mate knowing that reaching so far soon would be of some advantage to us, invited the wizard to go on board with him, and bargain with the captain, which he did, promising him an immediate fair wind to Rouxella; when having tied to our fore-mast a woollen rag, about half a yard long and a nail broad, whereon were three knots, with orders to untie the second, and then the third in case the wind slackened; and being paid ten kronen, or thirty-six shillings, and one pound of tobacco, he went ashore in a little fishing boat which had brought him on board.

He was not long departed before the captain, according to direction, untied the first knot, and immediately there blew a brisk gale from the south-west, which drove us at a great rate, at least thirty leagues beyond Maelftroom, a whirlpool in the Norwegian sea, fatal to many vessels, and this makes those pilots who know the coast to keep eight or ten leagues out to sea, to avoid not only that, but several other eddies that are nearer the shore, as well as the rocks of Ostraford.

The wind now beginning to veer a little to the northward, the captain loosened the second knot, upon which the gale settled as before; and waited on us till we reached Rouxella: after we had passed that promontory our needle turned back half an inch, and had not our pilot been a very knowing man, and well acquainted with the road, we should

should certainly have lost our course. He shut up the compass, and displayed a flag on the fore-top mast head, as a signal for the ships in company to follow our way. In this dilemma we sailed two days, the pilot going by his sea-charts; but the third day, being very distant from Rouxella, the needle of the compass recovered its proper tone, from whence we inferred that we approached the North Cape.

By this time the wind began to fail us, on which the captain untied the third knot, and there sprung up a smart breeze at north-east, but it soon improved into a most dreadful tempest. We were now obliged to take in all our sails, and drive before the wind under bare poles, not without imagining this a just judgment inflicted upon us for infernal commerce; however, as we were some leagues from the coast of Danish Lapland, we were in no danger of driving ashore, and did not suspect our being upon any rocks till we struck upon one: as soon as we felt the shock we gave ourselves up for lost, and every man fell to his prayers; when, by great good luck there came a high rowling sea, which carried us clearly over it: the ship had however received some little damage; two or three planks in her hold were bulged, and she sprung a small leak above the keel, at which the water came in fast, and obliged us to ply the pump without intermission, or else we should not have been able to have lived long upon the surface: however, the storm was pretty well over, and having a fair gale we resolved to make the first port to visit.

## C H A P. III.

*An endeavour to account naturally for the northern people selling winds: the ship arrives on the coast of Wardhas, and puts into Varanger to refit: the reception the crew met with: the religion, superstition, food and manners of the Laplanders lightly touched upon: the women free of their favours: the dress of the people described: the black cat sometimes taken for a familiar: the author and some of the ship's crew set out on a journey into the heart of the country.*

TO remove that surprize which must undoubtedly affect the reader, from being told of the supernatural power of these northern people, manifested in the sale of winds, it is necessary to remark, that like all other species of witchery and necromancy, this has its foundation in fraud and imposition; those who deal in it study the weather very accurately, and are from constant observation able to foresee the variation of the winds for several days to come; in making a bargain they are careful never to come to a conclusion, till they perceive the certain sign of the approach of the wind that is wanted; and when our supposed conjurer affirmed that his power reached no farther than Rouxella, he really meant no more than that his observations were bounded by that particular point, and if he should have attempted to have gone farther, his credit was at stake, not being certain of the winds there by any signs whatever. This account we have received from some intelligent persons who resided a while in Iceland, where they are famous for this kind of traffic, and dispose of winds more freely than elsewhere, because this is an island, and being every way open to the sea, they  
are

are more at liberty upon it than elsewhere to inspect the variation of the winds.

This species of knowledge is confined among a few people, who pretend to dispose of the wind as of their own proper merchandise, whereby they keep their neighbours in subjection, and put foreigners under tribute; nor are these strange notions and diabolical proceedings to be wondred at, in a climate where the mists of ignorance still prevail, and erudition has been scarcely able to dart one lucid beam; but we always find such absurdities wither as reason and religion advance, for before them barbarity and error always retire.

As the harbours and creeks are almost inaccessible, from the multiplicity of rocks that line the coast, we were obliged to sail two days longer before we could make a proper port. However, at last we reached the coast of Wardhus, the chief town of the Danish Lapland, where there is a garrison of two companies of soldiers belonging to the king of Denmark.

The collector of the duties imposed on foreigners trading to or from the White Sea judging us to be Danes by our colours, and our saluting the castle, permitted us to pass on to Varanger, without searching us. The country all about seemed to be very wild, and no man on board had the smallest knowledge of it: the captain, impatient to find a place to refit in, as well as to obtain some information relative to a part he had never known before, ordered out the long-boat, and taking with him eight men well armed, rowed towards the town, where he arrived in about half an hour. He found the port very convenient, and the place populous, but the inhabitants in a sort of consternation at the sight of foreigners: they gave him small encouragement for trade, but readily offered to assist in refitting the ship.

Next day we entered the port which is very commodious, and discharged all our ballast, it being only sand, shipped to counterpoise some bales of cloth and bundles of tobacco, with which we designed to have traded. The goods were locked up in a warehouse near the water-side, and a proper watch set to guard them. To some of the principal inhabitants we presented rolls of tobacco, which being more welcome to them than gold, secured us their friendship: in return for these presents, they entertained us with dry fish that serves them instead of bread, some rein-deer flesh, a food, in my mind, not extraordinarily delicate, together with some bear's flesh, and that of other animals, to the nature of which we were strangers: they also treated us with fresh fish, boiled without salt, and served up with fresh oil, or a sour liquor common among them, by way of sauce. Their dainties not suiting our taste, we sent for beef and biscuit from on board, over which, and a cann of liquor, we made ourselves merry; but our viands seemed as insipid to them as theirs were to us.

Their drink, which I have just now mentioned as sour, consists of an infusion of juniper-berries, and a grain like lentiles, very common here, tho' not noticed by any botanist that I can remember. From this grain they also distil a sort of brandy that intoxicates as soon as ours. Their common drink they preferred to our beer or brandy, tho' they accepted and drank freely of both.

The religion of Lapland is Lutheranism; but tho' they have clergy amongst them, whose business it is to instruct the people, they are nevertheless very ignorant, retaining many idolatrous customs, and so superstitious, that if in the morning they meet with any thing which has had the character of being ill-omened, they return home and neglect all business for that day; nay, the fishermen will abandon the



stream, and retire with his nets, if he happens to bring up only one fish at a time, which is reckoned a terrible prognostic of ill luck, and misfortunes near at hand. Both the men and women are low in stature; but they are strong and active, their visages broad, and their noses flat. Their eyes are small like hogs eyes, and their eye-lids make them look as if they were blear-eyed. Their complexions in general are swarthy; besides, they are rough, rude, and lustful; and the women, if they can do it, without their husbands knowledge, prostitute themselves to all comers, without much delicacy.

The women wear on their heads a coif, not unlike those worn in Norway, made of coarse canvass, nor is their linen much better; their hair is generally twisted into two rolls, which hang down on each side: they wear a ruff of the breadth of eight fingers; and their cloaths and stockings are either coarse cloth or rein-deer's skin, with the hair turned outward; and their shoes something like those worn by the peasants in France, are made without straps, of fish skin with the scales on.

The mens coats, which are short, and reach not much lower than the hips, as well as their breeches, stockings, and hat, are made of the rein-deer's skin with the hair turned outward; their hats, or rather bonnets, are edged with a strip of either grey or white fox skin. Some of them wear boots of fish skin, so neatly stitched, that the seams are scarcely visible; and their dwellings differ very little from those about Christiana, the light being admitted by a small hole in the top of the hut. They lie like the other Laplanders; and indeed most of the northern inhabitants, in a promiscuous manner, husband and wives, sons and daughters, masters and servants, stretch themselves, without much ceremony, in the middle of the apartment,  
upon

upon bears skins, which when they rise are folded up carefully, and laid by till night.

Were I superstitious, the great black cat that attends on every family, with which the master of the house talks by the hour, as if it were a reasonable creature, and which accompanies him upon whatever party he makes, either of fishing, hunting, &c. would have confirmed me in the opinion that these people were conjurers, and I should have condemned poor pufs for a familiar spirit.

When we had unladed the ship we haled her ashore, and found the people of Varanger very ready to give us all the assistance they could; for, being much damaged, and there being a necessity of having timber to refit her, they readily helped us, in bringing what we wanted from a neighbouring mountain.

As it was very probable that repairing the vessel would take up some time, the supercargo proposed a journey into the country, to try what commodities were to be had, to two of my ship-mates, and myself; and we readily consented: I confess that the desire of gratifying my curiosity was more prevalent with me than that of the improvement of commerce.

Having supplied ourselves with salt beef, pork, and biscuit, by way of provision, with cloth and tobacco to trade, we set forward on the 12th of May, conducted by three of the inhabitants of Varanger, whom we followed over high mountains, and thro' thick woods, without meeting any thing remarkable, till about four o'clock in the afternoon, when we perceived two white bears of prodigious bigness approach, as we thought, to devour us; but our guides laughed at the terror which they saw impressed on us, and assured us we need not be afraid, for if we kept our arms ready for defence we should not be attacked; and we found

that they said true; for no sooner had we prepared our fuzees than the bears fled with precipitation: whether they were frightened at the fire which struck from our flints in preparing our pieces, or smelt our powder, I shall not take upon me to determine.

An hour before night, as we descended a mountain, we perceived at a distance a herd of beasts, not unlike stags, and these, our guides told us, were rain-deer. Soon after this we came to a village, which consisted of about a dozen straggling houses, at one of which we took up our lodging, being extremely glad of repose, for we were heartily tired; having marched a long journey with our luggage at our backs. We presented our host with a piece of roll-tobacco, for which he expressed himself much obliged, and in return laid before us his brandy bottle, together with some dried fish, and rain-deers flesh dressed without salt, which, not much relishing, we gave to our guide, and regaled on what we brought with us; after which we went to sleep upon bears skin, after the fashion of the country. In the morning we bartered with our host and several of his neighbours, cloth and tobacco for skins of wolf, fox and white squirrel, besides four suits of the deer-skin garments, which are very warm cloathing.

Having secured his friendship with the present of tobacco, he very readily offered to assist us with some rain-deer to carry us forward in our journey; and for this purpose he blew a horn just at his door, at the sound of which fourteen or fifteen of these beasts came running towards him; from among which he chose out six, and yoked each of them to a sort of sledge shaped like a gondola; it trailed upon the ground, and was fixed upon a square frame, to which were fastened two poles longer than the sledge by at least two feet. Here we discharged

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And I shall not

be able to



*Rein-deer Sledges.*



ed two of our guides, keeping him who was conversant in the languages of the different Laplanders; and putting our cargo of provision and merchandise into one sledge, each of us lay down on another, covered with a bear's skin, and thrusting our arms up to the shoulders, in two leathern girths placed at the back of the sledge to keep us steady; besides which, we were furnished with a long stick, at the end of which was a strong ferula to balance the sledge, in case it should be in danger of overturning upon stumps of trees or stones lying in the road.

When we were ready to set out, our host muttered some words in the ears of our cattle, which I afterwards understood from our guide were directions whither they were to go; for so credulous are these poor wretches as to think the beasts understand them. However, so accustomed are they to this auricular salute, that when our host had whispered all the six they set off with us, going at a prodigious rate, without keeping any beaten path, and never halted till about seven in the evening, when they brought us to a village between two hills, on the border of a large lake; and here at the fourth house they thought proper to stand still, beating their feet hard against the ground to signify their arrival, as I suppose, for the master of the house, and some of his people came out at the noise; and having unharnessed our cattle and released us, they administered to each of us a brimmer of brandy, poured from a juniper can, of which wood all their vessels were made; this it seems was to revive our spirits, our guide having informed them that we were much frightened at being drawn so very swiftly, not being used to such sort of travelling.

The rain-deer is of the size and colour of a stag, with cloven feet like theirs, and hoofs as large as oxen; their horns are higher, but have not so many sprouts as those of the stag, and the females, like

cows, yield milk, of which the Laplanders make good butter and cheese; they live upon moss, which grows every where in this country, and are yoked with a leathern collar to the shaft of the sledge, almost as a horse is to the chaise.

#### C H A P. IV.

*The people of a village, and their manner of living described: tobacco a very valuable commodity: the author and his company trade for skins with some success: the ceremonies of a Lapland funeral: they have a stolen interview with the wife of a jealous Laplander.*

THE people here were dressed like those of Varanger, except that the women wore bonnets like men; and the houses were small and low, covered with the bark of a tree, and admitting the light from the top. They seemed more barbarous than those we had last conversed with; however, we purchased their protection by giving each man about two inches of tobacco; and our host being bribed with a piece rather larger, was our assured friend. Their language was very different from that of Varanger, from which we were now very distant, having travelled more than thirty leagues that day, this being the territory of Mourmanskeimore. We supped on our own provision, and lay all night on bears skins as usual.

Here we trucked our cloaths for others more long and commodious, and bartered our tobacco for one hundred grey squirrels, a fur much esteemed in Denmark. Next day the people provided us with six other sledges, and having treated us with brandy, and wished us a good journey at parting, our deer having received their instructions

ons as before, fled with incredible swiftness, and did not stop till three in the afternoon, when they brought us to a village of eight cottages, pleasantly situated by a wood side on the top of a hill; here we saw no inhabitants, the reason of which, as our guides told us, was, that it belonged to the Kilops, one of the wildest Lapland nations, the people of which fly from strangers, and subsist entirely on hunting.

We baited our deer with moss, which grew here very plentifully, and refreshed ourselves with biscuit and beef, and a dram of the brandy with which the people of the last village had furnished us, while our interpreter dined upon venison and fish. After about an hour's delay, our guide endeavoured to make our deer go forward; but he found it very hard to persuade them, tho' no Laplander whatever knew how to manage them better.

This village was their usual stage, and they had no inclination to quit it; in order to induce them to it, he used a hundred ridiculous and superstitious ceremonies; he retired to the wood, where he muttered charms, and then whispered them; but he was obliged to repeat his orders over and over before they chose to understand him: at last he prevailed upon them, and they proceeded, but not so swiftly as hitherto. As we turned down the mountain's brow we met four Kilops, who turned their sledges off the road, and took another to avoid meeting us. In less than half an hour we entered a long wood, where we saw nothing, but our ears were dinned with terrible howlings and lamentations, for which we knew not how to account, nor did we stop to enquire into the cause.

Having descended another hill, we arrived at a little village, where our beasts stopped just where they thought fit, and gave the usual signal with their feet, at which the master of the cottage made

his appearance; whose friendship we having solicited with a piece of tobacco, he made us welcome; and having supped, we lay down to rest as we were wont; and indeed, this day being May 14th, we were sufficiently tired. The next morning we were told that we had travelled forty leagues the preceding day; but I am apt to believe there was some mistake in the reckoning, forty Lapland leagues being equal to one hundred and sixty French, and five leagues a-day, on horseback is thought good riding.

Our guide informed us that we were now in the Muscovite Lapland, and having desired him to enquire if the inhabitants had any thing to barter for cloth and tobacco; they produced fables, squirrels, and foxes skins of divers colours, for which we soon bargained, giving mostly tobacco in exchange. When we had finished our business we sat down to drink with them; and tho' they were not quite so brutal as some others with whom we had dealings, they were rude, slovenly, and extremely indecent. Our host here furnished us with as many sledges as we wanted, and we set off with great speed, thro' different unbeaten wastes, and did not meet even the sign of an habitation, till about six in the evening, when we reached two huts, the residence of two Kilops, whom we saw fly, together with their families, as we approached. About eleven at night, having made a most fatiguing journey, we came to a large village at the bottom of a hill, by a river side, in the middle of which our cattle halted, and the master of the house, which we entred, treated us with great civility, lighting up a fire in the middle of the hut to warm us, and regaling us with brandy, salt fish, salt venison, salt butter and milk: this was the best fare we had found since our setting out, and we should have supped like princes had we had any

any bread left, but our store was unhappily consumed. This was the first salt we had found used in these territories, and our guide would not meddle with it, but ate some fresh venison that he had brought with him.

In the morning we found they had nothing to trade with, neither could they supply us with sledges; so we crossed the stream, designing to proceed to Kola. We came in a little time to another village where we were furnished, and arrived about noon at Kola, a little city about ten leagues from the North Sea, built by a river side, having very high mountains on the south, Mourmanskeimore to the west, and large deserts and forests to the east: it consists of one indifferent street; the houses are wood, handsomely roofed with fish-bone, and on the top there is a hole left, as in other parts of Lapland, to let in the light. The inhabitants of this place, and indeed of Muscovy in general, are very jealous, and lock up their wives on the approach of strangers.

The person with whom we lodged at Kola, took all our cloth off our hands, and gave us, by way of barter, two lynx skins finely spotted, some ermines, three dozen of white fox skins, and half a dozen of Wyetfras, an animal not unlike a badger, but with longer rougher hair, of a very dark red colour, and a tail like a fox; he also supplied us with provision enough to last us to Varanger, and sledges to the side of the river we had so lately passed, in return for some odd ells of cloth that we had remaining.

In the morning, some of the town's people enquired whether we had any tobacco left, and being answered in the affirmative, soon brought in furs enough to purchase all we had, except seven or eight rolls that we kept to pay our way back to Varanger, for tobacco is more valued by them



than money, and a piece of the length of one's finger is preferred to a crown piece; for which reason any persons who chuse to travel this wild and unfrequented country, ought to stock themselves well therewith; since it will procure them rain-deer, sledges and other necessaries much sooner than coin. The kings of Denmark and Sweden, and the czar of Muscovy, have taxed it severely; there being collectors settled in every frontier town, to gather the imposts upon it. When our business was over, we sat down and made merry with our chapmen, over some brandy, which they tossed off as we do beer.

About two o'clock in the afternoon we signified to our host, that it was time for us to depart, on which he provided us with rain-deer and sledges almost in a minute, and packed up our furs for us very tightly, furnishing us with biscuit, ginger-bread, and salted rain-deer venison, besides a small rundlet of brandy; we set out, and in my opinion, travelled much faster to the river, than we had hitherto done. We soon crossed over, and went directly to our old quarters, where our landlord, in hope of getting more tobacco, received us very joyfully; he immediately presented us a cup of brandy, and, had we chosen it, would have got us sledges and deer that instant to carry us forward; but we preferred resting with him for that night, there being no village for several leagues from his habitation: hearing our determination, he asked us to accompany him to the funeral of one of his neighbours who had been about four hours dead.

This invitation was what we were extremely glad of, having heard much talk of their funeral ceremonies, wherefore we accepted of it, and accompanied him to the house of the deceased; where we saw the corpse, which all, to his hands and face, was wrapped in linen, removed by six of

his most intimate friends, from the bear-skin whereon he had expired, into a wooden coffin, with some brandy, dried fish and venison, to subsist him on his journey to heaven; in one hand they put some money to pay the keeper of paradise-gate, in the other a certificate signed by the priest, and directed to St. Peter, informing him that the bearer had been a good christian, and ought to be admitted into heaven; and at the head of the coffin was placed an image dressed like a pilgrim, which they called St. Nicholas, being one of the seven deacons mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles.

This is a saint greatly revered in all parts of Muscovy, who is supposed a particular friend to the dead; wherefore his image is always fixed near a coarse instead of a crucifix. They next kindled a fire of fir-tree roots at a distance from the body, weeping bitterly, and expressing their sorrow by the most extravagant noise; after which they went round it several times in procession, demanding the reason of his dying? whether he was out of humour with his wife? whether he stood in need of meat, drink, or cloaths? if he had not succeeded when fishing, or lost his game when hunting? After asking these and a thousand other questions equally frivolous, they fell to their screaming lamentations again, while an attendant priest every now and then sprinkled the coarse and the mourners alternately with consecrated water.

Being quite weary of these barbarous rites, we returned to our quarters, leaving our host behind us, to complete the ceremony; on our entering the cottage, we saw a woman retiring hastily, whom our guide pursued and brought from the place of her retreat; it proved to be the wife of our host, who had stolen out of the chamber whereto her husband had confined her; on our

entering, she came very willingly among us, when she found her husband was absent, and examined us all attentively one after another, appearing to be good humoured, and well pleased with us; when she had satisfied her curiosity she sat down with us, and shewed us some little sort of embroidery of her own doing, which I think was very pretty. After having tasted our provisions, but particularly our ginger-bread, which she seemed to like, and drank two or three glasses of brandy, she retired for fear of her husband's return; who would certainly have resented her having taken such liberty, had he caught her among us. When he came home, he insisted on our eating and drinking with him, after which we smoaked a pipe, and as our guide would not touch any thing that was salt, he was furnished with a bear-collop, which he broiled on the coals, and some dried fish.

Next morning, being the 18th of May, we rose early, and were soon furnished with convenient sledges, and excellent rein-deer, which carried us at the rate of six leagues an hour; we met in our way, a Laplander who was going to hunt, he had skaites on, above seven feet and a half long, only four fingers broad, and flat at the bottom, with the help of which he made as much way over the snow, which often lies unmelted till Midsummer, as we did with our carriages; his dress was deer-skin embroidered with tinsel, and he had a girdle of the same sort round his waist, a large quiver at his back, a dart in one hand, and a bow in the other, with a great black cat following at his heels. He kept up with us till we had passed the mountain on which we met him, and then struck down another road.

## C H A P. V.

*A general character of the men and women of Lapland, and of the province in general: their beasts and birds, but particularly the white crow taken notice of: the ship sails from Varanger, gains sight of Spitzbergen, and is vastly incommoded with ice, but at length gets clear: they put into port, and the author makes another journey in land.*

**M**AY the 21st, we arrived safely at Varanger, about nine o' clock at night, having made the same stages, and met with nothing extraordinary in our return, which took up three days; and from what I was able to collect, from observing the manners and disposition of the people, in my progress thro' Lapland, I may venture to affirm them, however ignorant and wretched, extremely honest, and abstracted from all notions of fraud; they are but little inclined to war, for if they come to understand that their sovereign, as the king of Denmark or Sweden, or the czar of Muscovy, wants soldiers from among them, they quit their dwellings and skulk in the woods, to avoid being forced into the service. They pitch the dart with great dexterity, will hit a mark of the size of a crown piece at the distance of thirty paces; and in handling their bow and arrow they are so very nice, that they can shoot a bird on the wing, in whatever part they think proper.

The women of the Muscovite Lapland, who are kept under greater restrictions than those of the other Laplands, make all the cloaths of their husbands and family, which they embroider round the edges with tinsel thread drawn between their teeth to a surprizing fineness. They work very  
neatly,

neatly, are handsome, well shaped, and good humoured; and so extremely lewd, that were they not narrowly watched, they would give themselves up to the first comer.

They have plenty of fowl, as geese, ducks, and pullets, in this part of the world, that feed either upon the grain of which they make their drink, or dried fish. Here is also a bird of prey of a deep pearl colour, as large as an eagle, but resembling it otherwise only in beak and claws; his head is like that of a cat, and his eyes are red and sparkling; he only picks up hares and other small game. Most of the beasts of Lapland are white, as wolves, foxes, hares, &c. but what is very surprising, their crows, their feet and bill excepted, are also white. They have a small cur, which is a good mouser, and watches for his little prey, on which he feeds like a cat; these, tho' very ugly, are held in great esteem; they are not passing a foot long and four inches high; the whole head, except their ears, which prick up like a wolf's, is formed like that of a rat, its tail curls, and its hair, which is a light yellow, is very rough, and generally stands on end; the fish which serves them instead of bread is called roff, it is firm, substantial, and, if you except the fat, well-tasted, it has no bones, is very broad, and about two or three ells long; they have plenty of other species of fish, which they commonly eat boiled; and it is remarkable that notwithstanding their natural antipathy to salt, they rather chuse to boil their meat in salt water, if they live near the sea, than in fresh.

In two or three days after our return, the captain had repaired the ship's damages, and took in his lading and ballast; in the mean time our crew plied the inhabitants with brandy and tobacco, by way of bribe, lest their conjurations should influence the



the winds to oppose us. We set sail from Varanger May the 26th, with a gale as much in our favour as we could possibly desire, which the sailors attributed to the friendship of the Laplanders; but the breeze shifting in a short time after, we brought to under the island of Wardhus, and the commandant of the castle knowing who we were, came off to us in a shallop, and we entertained him to his satisfaction. The wind settling to a point, the ensuing day, we proceeded on a north-east course, with our sails all loose; and in three days entered a latitude where we had no night, the sun being always on one side or the other of us, and never sinking below the horizon.

May the 31st, the high lands of Spirtzbergen being in sight, the wind blew so hard from the north, that we were obliged to stand in for the shore for shelter's sake, under an east-south-east course; for the three following days we were so incommoded with ice, which struck violently on every side of us, that we were afraid of foundering; this induced us to try to get under the protection of a promontory to the east, but the wind continuing very high over at north, we steered for the coast of Borandia; and in some few hours entered a good bay, where we found a safe haven and water at twelve fathom; and here, to our great joy, we discovered lying at anchor our two consorts, from which we had been separated off Varanger by the storm; we hung out our flag and fired three guns as a salute, which they answered with six and all their colours displayed.

The wind continued for twenty-four hours so high, that our long boat could not be hoisted out, and we were impatient to know how they had escaped the tempest, for we had feared they were lost; however the gale slackening, we went on board one of them; from which we learned that  
they

they had been driven on the coast of Juhorskt, where they had like to have run ashore in three fathom water, the sounding shifting variously and the ground being very rocky; but they had just time to tack about, under favour of a north-north-east wind, and kept out to sea, tho' not without some difficulty; however, after beating about for three days, they reached the bay where we found them.

After mutual congratulations on account of seeing each other safe, we held a council, wherein we debated of the manner in which we were to proceed upon this coast; and it was at length determined that a captain, a supercargo, two accomptants who understood the northern dialects, and I, together with twenty seamen well armed, should go ashore and take with us several days provisions, and some goods wherewith to traffic.

This agreement was immediately put in execution; the company was ready and the long boats hoisted out, which soon conveyed us to land. Here we ascended a hill, to try if we could discover any habitation, but could not; on which we advanced towards a neighbouring mountain, and here among some bushes of thorns and briers we spied five or six men, who fled as soon as they saw us, and were quickly out of sight; we followed their track as well as we could mark it, and after a march of about two hours as we sloped down the mountain we saw some cottages at a distance, and near them thirty or forty men armed with darts and arrows, and seemingly ready to annoy us; on a nearer approach we were somewhat intimidated at the appearance, and were absolutely about retreating to our ships, knowing that nothing was to be had by an engagement with people so wild and barbarous, when one of the accomptants freely offered to advance singly, and hail them as friends; and to inquire if they had goods and were disposed to

to traffic : for this purpose he approached them, carrying two rolls of tobacco and a small keg of brandy. When he came within hearing, the person who appeared to be their chief hailed him in the Muscovite language, desiring to know our intentions ; and on being answered that we were merchants come to trade with them, free from any hostile designs, they seemed satisfied and bade him draw nearer ; on which he made signs for us, and we soon joined companies, agreeing very well, for they soon took all the brandy and tobacco we had brought ashore with us off our hands, giving furs in exchange ; and finding that they had a great quantity remaining, we persuaded them to bring them to the beach, telling them we had brandy and tobacco enough to barter on board ship.

Boats soon came off from the vessels, in which we carried our chapmen, who admired them vastly, on board, whither they came, made each man a present of about an inch of tobacco, and poured out to each a brimmer of brandy, entertainment which made them, to all appearances, infinitely happy.

We purchased all the furs they had brought with them, which they told us was the only commodity of the country, and that if we chose to travel in land, they could conduct us as far as Siberia ; there being rein-deer and sledges in which two people usually sat, the deer being stronger than those of Lapland ; accordingly we agreed with them to be our guides backwards and forwards, promising them two rolls of tobacco and a couple of quarts of brandy, for which they were to provide us with every thing necessary.

The bargain being confirmed, they were plied with another bumper of brandy each, and went ashore to get ready for the journey. The other natives, encouraged by the report of these, came  
down

down in troops to the water side daily, not scrupling, after some slight demur, to go on board the ships, where they sold their goods and were treated with brandy, the delight of their hearts; in return for which they invited the sailors to their habitations.

They are not so tall as the Laplanders, they have large heads, fat broad faces, little feretty eyes, flat noses, and swarthy complexions; their legs are short and thick, nor are the women a jot handsomer than the men, dressing in the same manner and going thro' the same exercise; their cloaths are white bear-skin with the hairy side outward, and consists of a jerkin that reaches down to the knees, a strait pair of breeches, stockings, and a cap; with shoes made of the bark of a tree. They maintain themselves by hunting, roast all their meat, and eat it without salt; they have no bread but use fish in the place of it, and their common drink is water in which juniper-berries have been left to steep till they rot; for they have no notion of boiling it, nor do I think it a disagreeable beverage, at least where there is nothing better to be had.

Their huts are low and oval, covered with fish bones, and having no light, but what comes in at the door, which is something like the mouth of an oven; they have no notion of religion, and live like beasts, without any restrictions; they drink immoderately when they can get brandy, and the most valuable present you can make them is either a little brandy or tobacco, which you can change very advantageously for fur; nor do they seem to know the value of any thing else but money, of which they have some little among them.

Word being brought that six sledges, being all they could get, were ready for us, we put into one to the amount of near four thousand pound in tobacco,

tobacco, brandy, gold, silver, and copper; the supercargo and I rode in one sitting opposite to one another, our accomptants, the two Borandian guides, and our seamen, for we had one from each ship, were divided in three others, in the fifth was a sailor by himself with tobacco and brandy; and the sixth was stored with provisions and some other things. Being all settled in our carriages, we set off, and ran at the rate of twenty leagues in eight hours, traversing plains, forests, dales, and mountains, without meeting a living creature; this being a sort of stage, we refreshed our cattle with moss, and ourselves with beef and biscuit, while our Borandians, who neither liked our bread nor meat, fed upon dried fish steeped in oil, after which we all drank at a neighbouring fountain, and crowned the banquet with a glass of brandy; which meal having finished, we mounted again, and after a course of three hours, put up at a large well built village at the foot of a mountain, where we were obliged to divide our company, one cottage not being sufficiently large to entertain us all; we slept on bear-skins, and our brandy and tobacco procured us a good reception; after having slept for six or seven hours, we went among the inhabitants to traffic, and for money and copper purchased seven pair of sables, three hundred grey squirrels, and two dozen of ermin, besides wolf and white fox skins; tobacco was not so good a commodity here as on the coast, a circumstance which did not displease us.



## C H A P. VI.

*The author continues his journey in land: some restrictions laid on the sale of fables: a bark built without any iron-work: great danger in selling fables to any but the czar: the industry of the inhabitants of Vitorza: a voyage made in one of the country vessels to Pezara, where the author and his company are heartily entertained; and then set out for Siberia.*

THE only diversions and occupations of these people are hunting and fishing, in summer they eat their meat either boiled or broiled on the coals, and provide enough, during the season, to serve them in winter, preserving it for that time, by drying it in the sun on the house top, cut in pieces; and this is the only dressing they bestow upon it. Their cottages are low and flat-roofed, covered with turf or branches of trees; they change their dwellings like the Kilops. They are very stupid and brutal, without the smallest notion of religion, and their cloaths are made of the white bear's skin, their coats coming below the calf of the leg, and having a broad girdle about their waists; the only difference between the women, who are dexterous hunters, and the men, is that their hair hangs in twists on their shoulders. At their backs they carry a quiver, and a stone that will cut like a razor hangs at their girdles; their bow-strings are the parings of a tree, and they generally bear a tough cudgel sharp at one end, by way of defence, in their hands.

When we had gotten what we could here, we each of us took a farewell glass of brandy and got into our sledges, our deer going at the rate of nine hours before they halted, which they did at a vil-  
lage

lage of a few huts, which were deserted ; here we refreshed ourselves and our beasts for about three hours, and then proceeded on our journey. We were now fifteen hours without seeing any human creature, or even the sign of one, when we overtook three hunters on the brow of the hill. One of them was dressed after the Muscovite fashion, in a long flowing robe, girt round his waist, with a girdle four inches broad ; it was white, edged with a fine black, his cap was made of a black fox's skin, something like a sailor's bonnet, his breeches and stockings were the skin of a reindeer, and his shoes such as they wear at Varanger ; the two other persons were equipped like us, in white bear skin, with the hair outside ; these last carried at their backs, furs, ermines, sables, wolf skins, whole fox skins, and bear skins with the tails hanging to them, the former only carried a dozen white crows, and seven sables tucked under his girdle ; we were a good deal surprized when he came up, to see our Borandian guide, after having talked to him for sometime, give him his place in the sledge and quit us.

Neither the supercargo, who rode with me, nor I, could tell how to account for this complaisance ; however, we pursued our journey for the space of another hour, without meeting the smallest sign of inhabitants ; at last having reached the top of a very high mountain, we perceived at the foot of it several houses built close together, forming a small town, and had a distinct view of the sea. When we arrived at the village, we found from the respect paid him by the people of it, and their readiness to attend us at his order, that the person who had displaced our guide was a man of some note.

He received us into his house very kindly, and sold us some good skins, and then he sent his servant

vants about town to inquire if any person chose to traffic for tobacco and brandy. They brought us a good number of chapmen, and we purchased above one thousand five hundred skins of all sorts, except fables; and these no body dare sell but officers appointed to preside in public ware-houses established by the czar's authority to manage this traffic; such as deal in it, without his especial licence, are sure of being severely punished; and if it is discovered that any persons have attempted to smuggle these skins, they forfeit all the goods then found in their custody.

Our cargo being too great for a sledge, our host lent us a small bark, for a certain reasonable quantity of tobacco and brandy, which he manned with some of his own servants; and with these, under the care of one of the sailors, who accompanied us, and was a skillful seaman, we did not fear her reaching our ship, tho' she lay above a hundred leagues distant. This bark was sharp at each end and broad in the middle, like a gondola; it was entirely of wood, joined with pegs, and had not any sort of iron struck into it, not so much as a nail; its two anchors which were very weighty, were of wood, and in the middle of the vessel was a fir-tree mast, to which was fastened a square piece of coarse cloth, made from the rind of a tree, by way of sail; and the cordage was of the same stuff, as well as the cables, which were pretty strong. There being no officer near, just as she was ready to put off, we privately slipped on board her thirty pair of sable-skins, for which we paid our host ready cash, and immediately after she got under way. This was risking boldly, for had there been any searchers at hand it might proved his ruin, because in that case he had not only been corporally punished, but also sent with all his family to work in the mines of Siberia.

The bark being out of sight, the supercargo, the accomptants, and our landlord, sat down to drink, while the two seamen and I walked out and took a view of the place, which was called Vitorza; the situation being very pleasant, having two mountains rising on each side of it to the height of a league: the houses were built and covered very handsomely with fish bones, the cranies being well stopped with moss, and in some places that were most exposed to the wind, with turf very neatly laid; on the top of the house was a sort of lattice to admit the light, and the door, like what we had seen in other parts of the country, was built like the mouth of an oven.

The inhabitants were dwarfish, swarthy, flat-nosed, and ill featured; the women and children seemed all industrious, being busied in making sails, or fishing-nets from the bark of trees, their needles being fish bones, and others were employed with knives or hatchets in different branches of business.

And here, as our commodities were not half disposed of, and we were in a country abounding with furs, we held a council, wherein we debated in what manner we were now to dispose of ourselves; and at length determined, as our commission for traffic and discovery was very extensive, to proceed as long as we found the trade good, and our cash, brandy and tobacco held out. Having taken this resolution, we sent our guides back with the rein-deers and sledges, entrusting them with letters to the three captains, acquainting them with our success and resolutions; and then with the help of our host of Vitzora, who was kind enough to embark with us, we hired a bark to carry us to Pezora, the capital of a principality of the same name, on the north coast of the Muscovite sea,

sea, which we reached in fifteen hours, having all the voyage kept close along shore.

The better sort of people among the Muscovites are rude, jealous, and quite unpolished; I say the better sort, for there are scarcely any noblemen or gentlemen in the whole country; and for this reason we were not surprised to find a collector of the customs who assumed the title of governor, the principal person in Pezora. We attended him at the castle, where he entertained us with some fine old metheglin, which was followed by brandy and ginger-bread, a sort of collation common all over Muscovy. He had the care of the czar's fables; and we bought all his stock, consisting of five zimmers, a zimmer being fifty pair; for two of which, being all as black as jet, and the finest I ever saw, we gave him one thousand crowns; we had the rest for eight hundred crowns. They were all sealed with the ducal arms of Russia. When we had paid him his money, he regaled us elegantly with roasted wild-fowl, young rain-deer venison, which tasted very well, and fresh fish, two boats having at our first arrival been ordered out to fish purposely for our entertainment. After this meal we sat eight hours over brandy and metheglin. I should certainly have been very drunk, had not I every now and then eat a biscuit; and indeed, to do the Muscovites justice, their bread is excellent. At length, being all overladen, we lay down on white bear-skins, for here were no beds, and slept comfortably six or seven hours; each of us, at our rising, being presented with a bumper of brandy.

After breakfast, an officer was ordered to attend us thro' the town, which progress we made with a double view of satisfying our curiosity, and trafficking with the people; we soon found numbers of chapmen, and for four hundred ducats purchased one hundred and twenty wolf skins, and five hundred



dred fox-skins, all white, two hundred martens, two thousand grey squirrels, and forty-eight ermines, for which we paid one half in copper, being encumbered with it, and the rest in brandy and tobacco. All our goods were sent to the governor's house, where they were packed up in bales, covered with the same sort of cloth as the sails of our bark, and shipped on board a small vessel, under the care of our accomptant and three Borandians, for whose fidelity, the governor, who had let it to us for ten ducats, past his word; and over and above their wages which he was to pay them, we gave each man a piece of tobacco.

When our vessel had sailed, having the wind at east south-east, we fell to drinking again, and the quantities which our host of Vitzora swallowed were indeed surprising; we stuck to it for more than four hours, and then composed ourselves on bear-skins to rest as before. In the morning, having requested it, we were furnished with seven single sledges and rein-deer to convey us to Siberia, being supplied with provision enough to last us to Papinowgorod, a city bordering on Pezora and Siberia, together with one of the governor's domesticks, who was ordered to escort us to the next stage, being but seven leagues, and to see that we were well used, all which services cost us only four ducats; and at parting the governor forced us to toss off five or six brimmers of brandy.

We now got into our sledges, and travelled for four hours thro' intricate unbeaten roads, without meeting any thing but four white bears, of an enormous size, which crossed us, and took refuge in an adjoining wood. In about two hours after, we stopped at a village, the inhabitants of which we supposed were gone to hunt, as we found the cottages all empty. Here we alighted to refresh ourselves, and in the mean time half a dozen fa-

milies returned from the chace with pretty good luck, bringing in with them six bear and four wolf-skins, with two ermines and eight fables; they would have fled when they saw us, had not the governor of Pezora's servant hailed them in a language they understood, telling them we were friendly merchants bound to Popinowgorod, and dealing in skins. On this report they abated of their timidity, and having satisfied their curiosity with gazing on us, our language, looks and dress being all strange to them, they bartered all the skins which they dared to dispose of, for tobacco and brandy, and then furnished us with rain-deer and sledges to conduct us to the mouth of the river Papinowgorod.

## CH A P. VII.

*They meet five exiles in the woods of Siberia; in one of whom our auther finds a gentleman of his acquaintance: the cause of his banishment: the hardships these poor people endure: their huts described: one of them gives the auther a very curious manuscript: they catch some martens and white foxes: they quit the exiles and proceed: the danger of their journey: they arrive at the town of Papinowgorod, where the governor and his wife make much of them: an odd ceremony of the lady.*

**W**E now left the banks of the river Pezora, along which we had coasted for some time, and went towards that of Papinowgorod, the roads being almost impassable, they were so woody and mountainous; however, after being out about three hours, on our approaching a thick wood, we overtook five men dressed in white bear-skin, like the Muscovites, each being armed with a gun and a sheathed

a sheathed knife stuck in his girdle, on the opposite side of which hung a pouch.

Our guide, who was a very good one, seeing them advance, stopt our deer; by which time being come within hearing, one of them bade us good morrow, in the German tongue, wishing that they were as free as we. Our supercargo, who was a native of Lower Germany, attracted by the sound of his mother-tongue, observed the person who spoke it very narrowly, and then getting out of his sledge, took him in his arms and embraced him; he proved an intimate acquaintance, who was lately banished by the Czar for hunting fables, a very capital offence.

During the time that they discoursed, I had leisure to survey the other five, when one of them, of whose features I had a confused idea, tho' I could not recollect instantaneously who he was, asked me whence I came, and whither I went, in French; then he reminded me that we had been acquainted in Stockholm; and on his telling me his name, I called to mind that he was a gentleman of Lorrain, and at the time I knew him, (when he had served me in many things, and offered to procure me a good post at Moscow) lieutenant-colonel of a regiment of horse in the Muscovite service: he was extremely altered from what I had seen him, his garments were uncouth, his beard was long, his head was bald, and I may say, sharp melancholy had worn him to the bone, for he was reduced almost to a skeleton.

I regreted very sincerely his present condition, how changed from what he was, when his birth, rank, behaviour, and fortune procured him universal respect. I could not view him without tears; he told me that the Czar had unjustly suspected his fidelity, and banished him for three years. The description he gave me of the hardships which he

and his companions, one of whom had been a major-general, the second one of the Czar's receivers general, and the third, a man of some consequence, endured in this ungrateful climate, were truly affecting.

Scarce a day passed over their heads without their being attacked by some wild beasts, which generally march in herds in search of prey. They had no subsistence but what they procured, and to relieve them was a crime which attracted severe punishment; besides, they were condemned to supply the czar's officers with a certain number of fables, under the penalty of being severely lashed with a whip of thick hard leather, which leaves their body in a gore of blood; all which grievances, added to the gloominess of the place, and the rigours they endured from the weather, made their lives very miserable. They all exclaimed loudly against the Czar, and declared, that, once their time of exile was expired, they would take care to get far enough from his power and dominions. We offered our best endeavours to facilitate their escape; but they told us this was impossible, all the frontiers being strictly guarded by forts, to the commandants of which their faces were well known, and that nothing less than the cruelest death barbarity could devise would be the reward of them and us for attempting it.

After having refreshed them and ourselves upon the moss, with such provision as we had with us, we resolved to spend a few hours longer with them, for we could not think of leaving so very suddenly men whom we had known in better days, when fortune smiled upon them: for my part, my inclinations would have led me to have staid some time among them, but it did not suit my companions, who had no views but the profits arising from traffic in this excursion, whereas mine were founded on curiosity; and I knew the lieutenant-colonel

colonel to be a man of excellent sense, and very capable of satisfying me in my inquiries concerning Russia, and the countries wherein he had resided; and this the more so, as I was satisfied that the observations of a man of his judgment and experience would illustrate considerably the remarks I had made myself. Thus perhaps will my desires of consuming some time with these unfortunate people appear rather centered in self; yet I can solemnly declare, that an inclination to console the misfortunes of worthy men, actuated me still more strongly.

They were joyfully thankful at our offering to spend a few hours with them, and to encourage us the more, led us to five little huts which they had built in the neighbouring wood, whereto they separately retired when they chose to indulge their melancholy, and chew the cud of sweet and bitter fancy: here there was room enough to entertain us all, and we ordered our guides to unharness our deer, and convey thither our goods, being resolved here to rest a while. Compassion and respect induced the supercargo and me to visit this residence, but our companions were influenced by the hope of purchasing good skins; for these gentlemen informed us that they had got some valuable ones, besides several fables, which were reserved entirely for the use of the Czar, and consequently could not possibly be parted with.

That necessity sharpens invention, was strongly evinced in the structure of their cabins, which were higher than any we had hitherto seen in our travels, and more commodious, having each two or three rooms, in the sides of which the light entered thro' a lattice; they were built of fir, and paved with broad fish-bones, that gave the floor the appearance of ivory; over them waved pleasantly enough a tuft of trees; and to defend them from the de-



predations of the wild beasts, there ran a trench round them, palisadoes with strong posts, and pieces of wood nailed across them, the top of each being guarded by a spear of fish-bone; thus when their gate was closed they were as secure as if in a fortified place: within they had good store of biscuit, rain-deer salted down, and metheglin, being moreover well supplied with hunting and fishing-tackle.

While the rest of the company sat themselves down to drink, the lieutenant-colonel, who was a sober man, and I retired to another hut to enjoy ourselves with a more sociable renewal of our acquaintance: he then informed me that he designed to return home, when his years of exile should be expired, and gave me his direction in Lorrain. His conversation was to me extremely entertaining; for there was a spirit in his description of the wildness of the country, and barbarity of the people that added considerably to the picture; this induced me to entreat him to communicate some observations upon the customs, dispositions, and manners of the Muscovites, telling him of my intending to publish my voyage, and that some account of the inland provinces, with which I had not time to make myself thoroughly acquainted, would render it still more perfect.

His reply was, that the present time was too precious to be engrossed by so general a subject; however, he told me, that he had collected his remarks upon the different provinces of this part of the world during a residence of sixteen years; and opening his chest, presented me with the manuscript wherein they were copied, which consisted of more than twenty sheets of paper, and which, notwithstanding all my opposition, he insisted upon my accepting, saying, that they could be of no manner of service to him, for his sufferings had given him

him such a disgust to the country, that he was sure, whenever he should leave it, the bare remembrance of it would be afflicting.

To those memoirs the world is obliged for the observations on the manners and policy of the Russians, as well as the relations respecting Siberia hereunto annexed.

They are useful, just, and entertaining; and I have endeavoured to strike out such parts as I thought were heavy, or consisted of needless repetitions. To me the colonel's reflections in general, both upon men and things, appeared to be accurate and judicious; and here and there he had interspersed some passages that served to illustrate his subject from the Muscovite history, which he was the better enabled to do, as he spoke and wrote the language as exactly and elegantly as their best scholars: this however he might easily do, for the Muscovites are not over-learned; they have an innate contempt for literature, and the clergy are as brutally ignorant as the laity.

When my friend and I were wearied with discourse we composed ourselves to sleep upon bearskins, as our companions did also when tired with drinking.

In the morning we rose early, and accompanied by the five exiles, each of us armed with a gun, traversed the woods, and examined our snares to see what prey we had caught in those we had pitched the night before; we only killed a few grey martens, and about a dozen white foxes, nor did we choose to fatigue ourselves with hunting, as we were resolved to pursue our journey in the afternoon.

We returned in a short time to our huts, where, together with our hosts, we dined heartily, drank plentifully, and then we took our leave, being truly grieved at our not being able to relieve men of

so much worth. They forced upon us at parting some ermines, bears, foxes, and wolfs skins, for which they would take no money; however, we insisted upon their accepting of some brandy, tobacco, and cloth, which we took care should exceed in value the commodities they had given us. We wept reciprocally at parting; and having taken a last farewell, mounted our sledges and continued our journey with the usual expedition.

In about three hours we came to five or six huts, inhabited by about a dozen people, from whom we bought all their skins; and afterwards, keeping the banks of the river Pezora, villages began to multiply; some of them were abandoned, and some not; wherever we found inhabitants we were sure of having some skins either for brandy or money, but none would venture to sell us fables. We now reached a large ridge of high craggy mountains, always covered with snow, that divide the last mentioned country from Borandia.

This was the most fatiguing, disagreeable, and I may add intimidating, journey we had hitherto made; for besides the air, which was extremely unwholesome, and the barren soil, the roads swarm with white bears and wolves, which put us often in fear of our lives, tho' I am apt to believe these beasts were as much terrified as ourselves, for they fled from us on every side, perhaps frightened by the glittering of our arms, which we took care to display to the best advantage.

After labouring among these hills, whereby our cattle were heartily tired, for more than twelve hours, we descended into a Siberian village, where the people had linen shirts, close buskins, and garments of bear skins, with the hair on the outside; they appeared to be less barbarous than those with whom we had lately conversed, receiving us with great hospitality, and demanding very civilly our country,

country, business, and destination. Having resolved their questions, we bought all their skins for ready money, feasted with them on rice-cake, ginger-bread, dried flesh of bear or wolf, drank heartily of spirits, and then slept upon bear-skin, in houses built in the manner of those of Lapland. At our rising they treated us with a glass of brandy, and then we set forward for Papinowgorod, which place we reached in twenty hours.

The governor of this town sent for us on our arrival, to inquire into our country and business; we immediately attended him at his castle, and answered all his questions much to his satisfaction. When he was informed that we were Danish merchants, who had come hither to buy fur, he treated us in a very friendly manner; and to shew his respect for us, sent for his wife to entertain us, a piece of unexpected condescension.

She made her appearance with a bottle of brandy in one hand, and a silver cup in the other, and was followed by a maid who carried a plate of ginger-bread; we saluted her in the Muscovite manner, by bowing our heads, and she untied the knot of her smock-sleeve, which dropping to the ground, was taken up by our supercargo, who having kissed it, gave it me to do the same; after which ceremony, she hauled up and turred it again, and presented each of us with a bumper of brandy and a piece of ginger-bread, standing all the while near her husband, at the end of the table, and then she withdrew, when the governor regaled us with an excellent supper.

We lay that night in the castle upon good beds, I mean good ones considering the place; and as soon as we were stirring in the morning, the governor waited on us, followed by a servant with a bottle of brandy, of which he made each of us drain a hearty cup by way of morning's whet. He then produced his skins, which, tho' the dearest we

had hitherto seen, were well chosen, and worth what he demanded for them: when he had disposed of his own stock, he ordered his servants to inquire for chapmen amongst the town's people; and while the supercargo was making the best bargains he could, I diverted myself with walking round the town.

### C H A P. VIII.

*The buildings, manners, and inhabitants of Papinowgorod described: the people of Siberia very jealous of their wives: the great virtue of their laws: our author and his company quit Papinowgorod, and enter Samejeda, where the people worship the sun: their arrival on the coast of Berandia; and setting sail for Nova Zembla, where they are avoided by the people: an account of the idol Fetizo: our author attacked with a disorder usual in these countries: his method of cure very judicious: an account of the sea-horse fishery, and the value of its horn.*

THE houses of Popinowgorod are low and meanly built, of mud or wood, the chinks stopped up with moss; the streets are paved with pieces of timber, well joined: the country about it is very fertile, and well watered by a fine river, in which there is variety of excellent fish. The better sort of people wear a long robe with very close sleeves of another colour, which reaches down to their toes; under it they have breeches, and stockings of the same cloth; their shoes, or rather boots, like those of the Polanders, are of blue, red or yellow leather, and buttoned on the top; they wear cloth caps, lined and faced with ermine, sable, or else black fox skin. The hair of the women, who are fair, plump, and very handsome, is generally



of a beautiful chefnut colour, and flows in ringlets down the back; round their waists, they have a broad girdle, studded with pearls, and their shifts are made of fine calicoe with sleeves all ruffled up from the wrist to the shoulder, in one of which perhaps there are five ells, and this bundle prevents them from using the arms of their robes, which therefore hang useless, being very long, and often only pinned on. Their robes or upper garments descend like those of the men to the feet, of a blue, a red, or a violent colour cloth, and are lined either with sable or white fox skin.

The people of Siberia are grave and hardy, they handle the cross-bow well, and are ignorant, churlish, and avaritious, jealous of their wives, who are generally locked up, and if they are not, none of them dare quit their rooms without leave of their husbands, whose love they prize but indifferently if they are not often beaten, such is the prevalence of custom. The religion of this province is called Nicholatian: their justiciary proceedings are all expeditiously terminated, their laws not being so intricate and perplexed as ours, free from those subterfuges and equivocations that reflect dishonour on the policy of polite nations; there are no pettifogging designing wretches, that prey upon the ignorant and unwary, who, under pretence of relieving innocence and succouring distress, enrich themselves with the spoils of the widow and the fatherless. Perjury is most severely punished, the murderer seldom escapes with his life, the adulterer of either sex is stoned to death, and the robber meets with his deserts; in short, all the courts of justice are in reality courts of equity; and there does not seem to be any difference in the terms. We call this country barbarous; are not we, when compared with them in this light, much more deserving of that epithet?

When we had packed up our cargo of skins, among which were some fables sold us by the governor underhand, we found we had enough to load a sledge and a half; besides which, having some tobacco and five thousand ducats left, we determined to go forward, and march thro' Samojeda to our ships, in which road we stood a good chance of disposing of the rest of our goods, and acquiring more skins. For this purpose we purchased of our governor provision enough to last us twelve days, rain-deer for our whole journey, and a new supply of brandy, our stock being all consumed. When we had made our bargain, and paid our money, we were obliged to sit to a drinking-match, as is the custom all over Russia, and after sticking to the bottle ten hours, we lay down to sleep.

In the morning when we rose we found every thing ready for us to go on. We mounted our sledges and went forward: in seventeen hours progress, we stopped very often to buy furs, and having crossed the Riphean mountains, in six hours more we entered Samojeda, a desolate mountainous country, full of fir, pines, and juniper; the ground covered in some places with moss, and in others with snow, and the road every moment incommoded with white wolves, bears, and foxes, which contributed to our no small terror.

When we had reached the top of Mount Stolphen, whence arises the river Borfogatz, we baited at a small village, where we purchased several sorts of skins, particularly some castors and otters; and tho' we proved to the people that there was no danger of our being searched in the way to our ships, we could not prevail with them to part with some skins that were prohibited, till we had made them courageous with brandy, and then they sold us some of the best fables that we picked up in our whole progress.

After

After having slept four or five hours, in common with the whole family male and female, upon the ground, on skins, in the chief hut in the village, we were awaked by our host stirring about and raising his family; whereupon they all went out: my curiosity excited me to follow them, and I saw them all at a little distance from the cabbin, behind it, fall down on their knees, and raise their hands and eyes to the rising sun, as if in worship. This I afterwards was informed they believe to be God. The people of Samojeda are shorter and thicker than either those of Lapland or Borandia; they have large heads, flat noses, unmeaning faces, and scarcely any hair; the women are more ill favoured than the men; like them too they hunt with bows and arrows, and breed their children to the chase: nor is their dress much different, except that a lock of hair hangs twisted between their shoulders, to which is hung a tail of ribbon, made of the bark of a tree, extending to their heels. They wear a cap furred like a lambskin, a pair of white bear-skin breeches, stockings, shoes, and coats reaching only to their knees, of the same skin; over all they hang a black bear's skin, the feet dangling at the four corners, and this leans more to the left-hand than the right; it is fastened on the shoulders, and to it is tied a quiver of arrows.

Having bartered all our wares in this country, and stocked ourselves handsomely with skins, in twelve days we returned to our ships which awaited us at an appointed place on the Borandian coast. Here having put all our purchases on board, we paid off our guide, and embarking in two hours after, sailed with a fair wind for Zembla, which we came in sight of the next day. In the afternoon we cast anchor near the shore, in a good depth; as the weather was clear we could perceive at a distance about thirty men, of more barbarous appearance

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ance than any we had hitherto met, armed with bows and arrows, and bent on their knees worshipping the setting sun. After some deliberation it was concluded, that each ship should send out its long-boat, filled with men, well armed for their defence, in case of their being attacked by these savages, with whom they were to endeavour to drive some trade. I was one of the number dispatched upon this service; and we were no sooner landed than the savages suddenly rose, and discharged their arrows at us; after which they fled with prodigious swiftness, the volley having been made at too great a distance to do us any harm.

We pursued them as fast as possible, in hopes to have made one or two prisoners, by using whom well, and afterwards letting them go, we hoped to ingratiate ourselves with the rest; but they outstripped our best endeavours; we lost them near a hill covered with snow: however, we continued our march into the country till we came to a rising ground, wherein was erected the idol called Fetizo, from which one of our people who had been here before informed us, the devil sometimes delivered oracles. It was a representation of a human figure, most wretchedly cut in wood, and before it were two Zemblians on their knees, who, the moment they beheld us, retreated precipitately into an adjoining fir-wood, and as night came on fast, we did not think it quite safe to follow them, but agreed to retire till next morning to our ships.

That night I was taken with a violent vomiting and pain in my head, which lasted three hours, after which my throat was so very sore that I could swallow nothing; the glands were very much swelled, and so were my gums; my teeth were loose, my legs could scarcely support me I was so weak; my stomach was quite gone: I was troubled with a constant fever; my body itched extremely from  
head

head to foot, and I had besides an ebullition of blood. My breath was short and offensive; and to quench my thirst I used vinegar and water mixed; but finding in two days that my distemper did not slacken, and knowing that it must arise from the pituitous glands being inflamed, partly by cold, and partly by eating salt meats, whereby the other humours were infected, I abstained from every thing that was salt, drank a spoonful of brandy and syrup of liquorice mixed, every hour, gargled my throat constantly either with brandy or vinegar, and rubbed my mouth with mel rosat. Most of our ship's crew were afflicted with the same disorder; but by observing the above method of treating it, in fifteen days time I cured them and myself too.

Our other ships complained of the same infection, and two people in one of them died under the surgeon's hands, who essayed the cure by purging and bleeding without success. Upon this a consultation was held, in which I recommended my process, supporting its efficacy by proof: it was accordingly adopted, nor did it fail in the least,

I have observed, in the course of my practice, that bleeding and purging are of no use in caco-chymical cases, or those caused by an abounding of ill humours in the blood, but often hurry the patient out of life; for they weaken the sight, debilitate the nerves, diminish the natural heat, and consume the radical moisture; however, I would not be understood to condemn bleeding entirely: no; for I look upon it to be necessary in all hot or plethoric cases, twice or thrice.

Our crews, excepting three or four, and they were on the mending hand, being all recovered, we set sail with a fair wind for Weygatz, to fish for sea-horse, having been sixteen days on the coast of Zembla. We were three days looking out for fish without catching any, tho' we had our long-boats



boats ready with eight men, besides rowers, armed with harpoons and other necessary tackle, always on the watch : however, on the third day they discovered three fish, one of them having a large horn on his forehead ; the latter they struck with their harpoons, and then giving him rope enough on each side, retired, that they might be out of his reach during the time of his struggling ; but he soon grew very weak, and they cut off his head, flinging the body, which is neither good for meat nor oil, into the sea. People fish for the sea-horse only on account of his teeth and horn, which are dearer than those of the elephant, because they are whiter, and not so apt to turn yellow. The horn of this that we took was ten feet long ; it was heavy, and from the root, which was as thick as a man's shoulder, to the top, gradually decreased, wreathing handsomely all the way. One of the other boats coming too close upon the other fish, in order to make sure of him, and not retreating properly, was overturned by his tail, wherewith he began to lash with prodigious fury on feeling the harpoon ; two of the men were drowned by this accident ; however we took the fish, and tho' it no way recompensed the loss of our sailors, yet it was a good prize, the teeth being very large and beautifully white.

We were four days after this adventure without meeting any more, and were preparing to shift our station when we spied four well sized fishes, three of which we took, and in twelve hours after discovered five more, one of them horned ; but he escaped with two of his companions, and immediately after we struck another, each of whose jaw-teeth weighed twenty-nine pounds. Two days after we caught five more, among which was one with a horn ; but it was a small fish, not quite seven feet long. We were five days from this time without perceiving

ceiving any fish, whereupon we took the advantage of a north-east wind to sail towards Weygatz, with some hopes of passing those streights; a course which, if once completed, would shorten the passage to the East Indies by three fourths; but when we had made about thirty-six leagues therein, we were so encumbered with ice, and surrounded with those icy mountains covered with snow that always lie at the mouth of the Frozen Sea, and are known by the name of Pater Nosters, that we could not proceed. Hence do these streights derive their name, Weygatz, which signifies in English Impassable. We came to anchor close to the land, on the eastern coast of Zembla, where one of our seamen going ashore was struck down by a bear which came behind him; and had we not happily seen it, and shot the bear dead, he would certainly have been destroyed. This accident deterred the rest of our crews from venturing on land. Shortly after three other bears came to the side of the ship, and one of them got aboard of us, tho' we cut off the paws of the second, whereby he was disabled, and shot the third with a fuzee; a sailor who happened to be near him when he mounted roared out dreadfully, on which we took up the first offensive weapon that came to hand, and the savage soon fell under the multitude of our blows; besides this, we fired at and killed two others that swam towards us. We thought that this slaughter would have prevented any more attacks of the same nature; but we were mistaken: in a few hours after, ten or twelve more came as far towards us on the ice as they could, and then took the water, making directly for the ship, every one of which we shot dead; but, like the hydra-head, the more we brought down the greater number poured upon us from the cloud-capped hills; so that finding we had so many dreadful enemies to deal with, we stood over

over again to the west coast of Zembla, and got clear off Weygatz Streights with an easterly breeze in fifteen hours, not without great danger from the many concretions of ice that opposed our way, and made it very troublesome.

## CHAP. IX.

*Some of the crew go ashore on an island in the streights of Weygatz, where they kill a great number of fowl: the bird called a penguin described: they afterwards land upon Nova Zembla, and seize some of the natives: their strange kind of boats: coats made of the skins of fowls: the inhabitants a despicable race: a surprising phænomenon in the heavens: a violent storm forces them on the coast of mount Hecla: the author goes to examine the mountain, and is in danger of suffocation: of the surprising properties of two fountains on the island: the absurd notion of some people about hell being in mount Hecla: the nature of the soil of Iceland explained, and its barrenness accounted for: an account of the dress, manners, and customs of the Icelanders; their propensity to necromancy: a waterspout described, of which they are in some fear: the ships arrive in Denmark and unlade at Christianhaven: this journal concludes with some conjectures relating to the unicorn's horn, and observations thereon.*

SOME of our crew landed on a verdant island at the mouth of these streights, covered with fir and juniper, where we shot and knocked down above sixty penguins, which we carried on board with us. This is a bird not higher but much larger than a swan, with a sharp beak, under which begins a gullet that reaches to the middle of the breast, widening as it extends, in which they stock their

their provision, and take it out to eat as they have occasion; they have webbed feet like a goose, and are of a brown colour; their flesh is well-tasted, something like a wild duck, but fatter and more delicious; they were the best regale we had in our whole voyage. Before we dressed them we were forced to take off the skin, which is thick and very tough.

After having tarried at this island two days, we heaved up our anchor, and set sail with a breeze at south-east, which soon cleared us from the Streights of Weygatz, and in about thirty hours we found ourselves off that point of land where we had first seen the Zemblians worshipping the sun. As the king of Denmark was very curious to have some perfect account of the riches and nature of Zembla, and for the more easily acquiring that knowledge, had commanded our officers to bring off some of the natives; we determined to put this order in execution, if there was a possibility of it, and for this purpose thirty of us, I say us, because I was one in every excursion that promised any thing curious or new, were divided in the long-boats; and we soon saw a Zemblian in his canoe about half a league from land, who perceiving that we rowed towards him, made off so nimbly, that it was vain even to attempt overtaking him; for he soon gained the shore, and throwing his boat upon his shoulder, fled with the speed of a stag; nor did he seem encumbered either with his boat, or a dart which he grasped in his right-hand. We saw him mount a hill, and he was quickly out of sight: however, we soon after discovered two other Zemblians farther out at sea, whom with some difficulty we surrounded and seized, and when they could find no possibility of escaping, they set up a howl more hideous than any thing I had ever heard.

They

They were a man and a woman, dressed in cloaths made of the skin of the sea-calf, with the hair outward; their waistcoats were two skins joined together, reaching down to the knees, and the tails hung dangling between their legs; their breeches or drawers were very strait; the man seemed to be about fifty years old, he had no hair on his head, but he had a round chesnut beard; the hair of the woman, who could not be more than thirty years of age, fell down on her shoulders in twists; and her nose and ears were ornamented with pendants of blue stones. They were extremely ugly.

We took the two persons we had seized into one of our boats, and kept in tow the canoe, which was made of the rib-bones of fish artfully joined, and neatly covered with fish-skins sewed together, being in length sixteen feet, and two feet and a half broad; there was a fish-skin drawn over it, leaving only a small hole in the middle, in which the owner sits, and having drawn the skin tight about him on every side, and tied it round his waist, so that no water can possibly enter, he takes up his oar, and commits himself to the mercy of the waves, without fear of being swallowed up.

It was in vain for us to strive to learn any thing from our prisoners, they were so very stupid and fullen; whereupon thirty of us, taking several days provision with us, went ashore and marched in two companies, about one hundred yards distant from each other; now and then hiding in caverns under the rocks, and posting centinels at proper places to discover if any savages approached, whom we hoped either to force or persuade to shew us their habitations.

We were out two days without seeing the smallest sign of an inhabitant, when at last one of our centinels gave us notice that two of them were descending



descending the hill towards the sea-side; on which advice, we divided ourselves in companies, at proper distances, and the Zemblians soon entered the snare without perceiving or suspecting any treachery, until one of our companions shot off a fuzee, a signal at which we all made our appearances, and the savages finding it impossible to fly, were easily taken; they were dressed much alike, tho' a man and a woman, each had on a strait pair of breeches, and a sort of waistcoat, the sleeves reaching only to the elbows, made of penguin-skins with the feathers on, except some places in the hinder and foreparts of the waistcoat, which were picked; their stockings were made of sea calf's skin with hair on, and they had caps formed like a sugar-loaf.

The male seemed to be about twenty-four years old, without any beard either on his head or chin; his face was broad, flat and swarthy; on his shoulder he held an axe, he had a bow in his hand, and a quiver of arrows hung at his back. The female seemed to be about twenty, she had a dart in her hand, her hair hung in two tists upon each shoulder, she had blue streaks on her chin and forehead, and in her nostrils, which were bored as well as her ears, hung fish bone rings, or blue stones as large as filberds; those in her ears were not bigger than pease.

It was in vain for us to strive to receive the slightest information from them, either relating to their habitations or any thing else; they were obstinate and sulky, so we carried them on board, and found they were acquainted with their two fellow prisoners, tho' very differently dressed. Such of the natives of Zembla as I saw, are the most despicable species of mankind that can be conceived; they are shorter and more squat than the other northern people, as ugly as imagination can frame  
of

of humanity; with squeaking voices, and stinking breaths, caused by their feeding on flesh without salt, fish, and stinking oil. They waddle like ducks, and never drink any thing but water; they hated the smell of tobacco, would sometimes touch our brandy with a sort of insipid gust, but would not meddle with bread, corned meat, nor beer. The wood work of their bows and darts is heavy, and of a red brown colour, that of their arrows is whiter and not so weighty; their needles, the points of their arrows, and their instruments, as well defensive and offensive as others, are very neatly cut out of the bones of fish.

It being now the latter end of August, the summer declining apace, the nights growing long, and the cold increasing, we began to think of returning home, wherefore we held a south-west course, but were obliged to change, by the wind shifting, and make the coast of Greenland; where we dropt anchor in the midst of the French and Dutch fleet, employed in the whale fishery. These ships seldom lie far from the shore, for whales, which are caught much in the same manner as the sea-horse, are commonly found near the land. When they are taken, they are cut in pieces, and the grease being scooped out of the body, it is put into a large kettle, where it is melted to oil, in huts for that purpose on the sea shore. I saw during our stay here, one whale that yielded three hundred and fifty pound weight of useful bone, which together with its oil must have brought to its owners very considerable profit. Our arrival in this place was fortunate for our Zemblian prisoners, who had pined a good while for want of whale oil, without which they could touch nothing, and our store was exhausted; but here we received a fresh supply, to their no small joy.

After

After having staid on this coast two days, we weighed anchor with the wind at north-east, and about five o' clock next morning, we saw three suns in the heavens one above another, so equally bright that it was hard to distinguish which was the real one; this phænomenon was followed by a very violent storm, that forced us to take in all our sails except the mizen, and we continued to drive upon a most boisterous sea for a day and a night; on which sailor, who was ordered aloft upon a look-out, discovered a great fire, at which he was terribly dismayed; but the master knew it to be Mount Hecla in Iceland, to which coast we determined immediately to stand over, in search of an harbour, not being able to keep the sea any longer.

We came up with the Iceland shore about night, and distinctly saw the flames issue in abundance from the mountain, accompanied by a loud and most terrifying noise. The sea was so rough, and we knew the coast to be so rocky, that we should not have ventured within a league of land, only for our pilot, who, being well acquainted with the soundings, undertook to conduct us to Cape Heri, where we anchored in safety. One of our company broke her bulk-head against a rock, and it was well she escaped splitting; the other received no damage. A strong party of us went ashore at the village of Heri, whence we proceeded to Kirkebar, a large town in Iceland, where we met eight or nine Danish merchants, who were surprized and rejoiced at seeing us; they entertained us with excellent bread, meat, and wine, and told us, that the day before, they had had an earthquake so very violent, that they thought the whole island would have been swallowed up. These gentlemen procured horses for eight of us, whom curiosity excited to take a view of the country, the rest chusing to remain to revel with them;

them; besides which, they furnished us with guides and provision. We travelled two days in bye-ways, rugged and unfrequented, when we found ourselves about five miles from Hecla, the ground being strewed with ashes and pumice-stones, and our guide told us that if we advanced we should fall into pits of fire, the ground being very loose, whence we should not be able to extricate ourselves.

All the company were intimidated by the guide from proceeding, except a Danish merchant, who had civilly accompanied us, and myself, who were determined to ascend the hill, as there was no sign of either fire or flame; and the weather was serene and calm. Wherefore leaving our horses to the care of those who staid behind, we boldly ventured forward, determined to reach the top of the hill, and were often up to the calves of our legs in ashes, which mixed with pumice-stones lay round us all the way; in a short time we saw a large flight of crows and vultures, that had their nests near the mountain-top; but we had scarcely gone half a league, when the ground shook under us, accompanied with a dreadful rumbling noise as if it would burst, at the same time that the earth on every side split into chinks, out of which issued bluish flames, that while they impregnated the air with a strong sulphureous smell took away all our courage, so that we turned back much more nimbly than we had ascended, for in a quarter of an hour we traversed the same space in our retreat, which we had been more than an hour in clambering up from our setting out. In our way we were enveloped in a black cloud of smoke, that rose out of the mountain, which covered us with soot; and was so thick that it quite obscured the light of the sun, while flames, ashes and pumice-stones fell every where round us like hail, and our ears were  
alarmed

alarmed with the most horrid, and lamentable sounds, that were repeated in our ears over and over, by the officiousness of a multitude of echoes from every quarter of the hill: and now we began loudly and heartily to repent of our ill-timed curiosity, for we feared every instant being devoured by the chasms gaping every where round us.

Our companions laughed very heartily, when they saw our haste, and our black frightful appearance; however, they changed their mirth, when they perceived us fall as it were dead at their feet, unable to utter a word; it was some time before they could recover us, by rubbing our hands, nostrils, and temples with vinegar; at length however we revived, and when we described our danger, they allowed our escape was miraculous. At the foot of Mount Hecla we found a pumice-stone as large as a hog's head, and our guide told us he had not only seen some much larger, and too heavy for ten men to stir, but also the volcano sometimes cast up water instead of flames, and at other times pumice-stones and ashes.

From Mount Hecla we had a three hour's ride to two fountains about thirty yards distant one from the other; one of which is so cold, that it turns every thing that touches it into iron, and I tried it by putting into it part of a small cane, which, so far down as it was immersed in the water, was to my great surprize transmuted into a matter as heavy as iron; all the properties almost of which it had acquired.

At about ten yards distant from the other fountain, which is boiling hot, we saw a parcel of animals of a red colour, about the bigness of ducks, frisking on the surface; which immediately dived to the bottom when we came in view, and rose up again, when we were out of sight; this they always do, as our guide informed us, and there never was a possibility of catching them; for it is their way to keep the top of the water when no



body is in sight, but to sink to the bottom, which is sixty fathom deep, if his report is to be believed, when any persons approach.

From this fountain we travelled to the sea side, within half a league of which we could hear the most piteous lamentations moaning all along the coast; these sounds have the tone of a human creature complaining, as if in agony, and that in so doleful a manner as to make the blood thrill, and impress the boldest heart with fear. These imaginary complaints are caused by the agitation of the ice and the water; which being driven violently against the rocks by the wind, produces this terrifying noise, and it is considerably augmented by the echoes of the many neighbouring caverns. Our curiosity led us to take a view of those floats of ice, which bound only this part of the island, coming upon the coast in June and going away in September. The people of Iceland believe, and our guides would fain have persuaded us into the same notion, that this sea is the receptacle of the damned, whom the devils here immerse in the most piercing cold, after having kept them a while burning in Mount Hecla; and in this transition from heat to cold, and from cold to heat alternately, say they, consists the torments of the damned.

Thither by harpy-footed furies hall'd,  
At certain revolutions, all the damn'd  
Are brought, and feel by turns the bitter change  
Of fierce extremes, extremes by change more  
fierce;

From beds of raging fire, to starve in ice  
Their soft ethereal warmth; and there to pine  
Immoveable, infixed, and frozen round,  
Periods of time; thence hurried back to fire.

On the 16th of September we returned back to Kirkebar, where having tarried a few hours, we went on board, and found in our ships the gover-

nour of the island, and a bishop; who came to pay us a visit.

On the 19th, taking the advantage of a northerly wind, we set sail from Iceland: an island abounding in cattle, and having plenty of rich pasturage, among which grows an herb called caitophe, of which the herds would eat till they burst, were they permitted to feed as long as they thought proper, wherefore they are stinted to a certain quantity; and tho' the fields look very green and pleasant, yet so violent is the cold kept up by a north-east wind, which blows very hard, that no manner of wheat or grain fit to make bread will ever ripen here, but perishes in the ground or in the bud.

The islanders male and female are very ugly and footy complexioned; they dress like the Norwegians, in coats made of the skin of the sea-calf with the hair turned outward, their linen being coarse packing cloth; they lie under the same roofs with their cattle, in caverns hewn under the rocks, or in cottages of a very sorry appearance, built either with wood or fish-bones, and covered with turf, in the manner of those of Lapland; the whole family lie in their cloaths upon a common bed of hay or straw, and cover themselves warm with skins; they live by fishing, are very brutal and sluttish, and most of them pretend to necromancy. It is said that the devil, whom they worship under the name of Kobald, appears often to them in a human shape. They have a sort of household god cut out of wood, the figure of which is very hideous; to this they pay a very constant homage, but that privately, they standing in some awe of the Lutheran priests, who endeavour to instruct them in the principles of Christianity; but notwithstanding appearances, few are ever really converted.

In a few days the wind blowing hard, we came in sight of Talso, a promontory on the coast of Norway, about four leagues from the sea, on which there is a small city and a strong castle; we coasted along the shore, about twelve hours, being now sure of making land, when the wind changing with the moon, drove us, notwithstanding all our care, at least forty leagues backward: this gale was succeeded by a flat calm, which to a sailor longing to reach home after a long voyage, is much more irksome than a storm; and while it continued, we were alarmed by a water-spout to the south-west of us, which we did our best to avoid, by furling all our sails and lowering our yards; however, we were relieved from our apprehensions by its breaking about two leagues from us.

The water-spout is a black cloud formed like a column between the sky and the surface of the water, which when it breaks, discharges a prodigious cataract of water, and would immediately sink any ship to the bottom, on which it should chance to fall. The wind coming about again in our favour, we made the city of Copenhagen in ten days; there having saluted the castle, we dropped anchor, put out our boat, and went ashore, well pleased again to see our native soil.

In two days after, our ships were ordered up to Christian-haven, where they were unladen, and their cargoes not only gave content, but were of special advantage to the owners; one of which presented his Danish majesty with the two horns, which were esteemed as invaluable curiosities, being thought the real unicorn's horn; they were ordered to be deposited in the treasury chamber, and the merchant who carried them to court was not only honoured with a gold chain, to which his majesty's picture was affixed, but also allowed to trade for a certain term of years, custom free; besides which the king was pleased to promise the company

company in general many extraordinary privileges.

We carried the Zemblians with us to court, the oddness of whose dress and the strangeness of whose figures gave the king some diversion; and indeed they were objects that engrossed general attention; the steward of the royal household was ordered to provide them with proper lodgings, and take care that they were instructed in the Danish language; by which it was hoped they might be induced to give some account of Zembla, to be relied upon better than any hitherto published; but I never heard that they afforded that satisfaction.

Now before I close this little journal, allow me to observe that I believe there is no other unicorn's horn than what is found in the head of the sea horse; and that the virtues of it are nothing near so great as have been represented: for my part I cannot help declaring it to be my opinion, that some authors who have pretended to treat of the nature and properties of the unicorn, have presented us with creatures of their own invention, rather than pictures drawn from nature; and others, but particularly Marco Paulo the Venetian, have confounded the unicorn with the rhinoceros. Pliny tells us, that the unicorn is like a bull, speckled with white spots; and Munster says, it is of a weazel-colour, resembling a colt of about three years of age. Philostorgius gives her the head of a dragon, the beard of a goat, the neck and feet of a lion, the skin of a snake, and the body of a stag. Heliodorus says, she is so nimble that she outstrips the hunter's swiftest paces; and Louis Paradis, who gives a strange description of her, informs us that she is sometimes taken, and that then she is fed with pease, beans, and lentils; but from the strictest consideration, all the accounts seem calculated rather to excite admiration than to declare the truth.



## Some Authentic Memoirs relating to the Affairs of R U S S I A.

### C H A P. X.

*A brief character of the ensuing anecdotes relating to Russia : the prodigious extent of the czar's dominions : their mines and various commodities : the vast quantities of wax and honey produced here : the manner of travelling in this country : the Russians ignorant and mistrustful : their great aversion to learning : their religion, and the different ceremonies : their great cruelty to their wives : a trick put upon the czar Alexis Michaelowitz by one of his principal courtiers : the education of the prince royal of Russia somewhat strange.*

**T**HE many curious and entertaining relations contained both in this and the foregoing journal, may well atone for some few inaccuracies that may here and there have crept into them : there is an air of sincerity, and a strength of judgment runs thro' the whole that ought to render them valuable. Tho' this account of Russia is prior to the reign of Peter the great, who laid the first foundation of polishing the inhabitants, yet they being naturally a brutal, obstinate, and stupid people, this reformation has not yet established itself in the inland provinces, at least entirely ; so that this may still be taken for a very lively picture of them.

The czar's dominions are the largest of any potentate in Europe, exclusive of his Asiatic possessions, which are very extensive : they lie between



forty-seven and seventy-two degrees north latitude, and twenty-three and sixty-five east longitude; and as they contain such a vast tract of ground, the air must consequently differ as the climates change; the southern provinces and the heart of the country are temperately warm, and tho' the latter is covered with snow during six months in the year; and the frosts in winter are continued, yet on the breaking up of the weather, and melting of the snow, the soil, which is very fertile, produces all manner of vegetables in a surprizingly short space of time; and from hence the northern parts of the empire are supplied with provision in plenty, being in themselves very barren and thinly peopled, overrun with forests, bogs, barren sands, and morasses, and lying nine months at least under snow. In the beginning of winter, the north-east wind, sharpened by the vast tracts of snow and ice over which it sweeps, renders the air extremely cold; nor are the south gales less severe, when the snows are fallen in that quarter.

Russia is a level country, except to the northward, where the mountains of Stolp arise; it produces corn, flax, pitch, tar, turpentine, fir, and oak; and has good mines of silver, lead, and iron, whereby they are enabled to export large quantities of fire-arms. Their trade in furs is so very great as to furnish, yearly, lading for a thousand foreign ships in that single article; they also carry on a considerable traffic, by land-carriage, of camels, with China and the East Indies, whereby the crown is a considerable gainer. Wax and honey are in great plenty in this part of the world, and by this alone many people amass good fortunes. They cut down trees in the woods, and dividing, hollow them, after which they stop up each end with wax, leaving only a small opening for the bees to enter; by the old laws of Russia,

every man who prepares a tree in this manner, secures his property in it, nor will any body pretend to alienate it.

In the southern and eastern parts, they have sheep, camels, and a small but very hardy breed of horses; and to the northward, wild fowl, fish, rain-deer, and the different animals whose skins are valuable, are found in abundance; their principal liquors is a spirit distilled from rye, which they prefer to any import of the same nature, and a strong sort of mead extracted from honey. In the middle of Russia, they travel with sledges drawn by horses, which are changed every fourteen or fifteen miles; but farther north, they use the reindeer, and when the wonderful, the almost incredible expedition of these animals is considered, one cannot avoid expressing some surprize that the court of Russia does not take the trouble of examining more accurately than hitherto, the different provinces subservient to its power; which might easily be done with the assistance of this animal, which sweeps over the tracts of frozen land, swifter than a race horse on full stretch over the clearest sod.

So very mistrustful are the Russians, and so little knowlege have they in matters either temporal or spiritual, that they suspect every person who makes the least inquiry into their principles or government, and yet they cannot tell why they do so; and this jealous disposition throws almost insurmountable difficulties in the way of him who travels into Muscovy, either to improve his knowledge, or to gratify his curiosity.

A public grammar school was erected by the reigning czar in 1560, about which time printing was also introduced, but it was soon overturned thro' the malevolence of the priests, who are ignorant and illiterate, being only people of unblamable

blamable conversation selected from among the laity; they had sufficient foresight to perceive that the success of the school would contribute to the increase of knowledge, whereby their power might be undermined; and they prevented it. A priest of Chioff, having by his prayers, effected the recovery of the great duke from a violent fit of sickness, the Muscovites were thereupon induced to embrace the Christian religion. Their liturgy is taken from the Greeks; it is read in the Sclavonian language, which is as little understood among them as the Latin is among the common roman catholics.

Their churches are built like those of the Greeks, and are ornamented with pictures; they were formerly set off with images adorned in the most splendid manner; but these, by the ecclesiastical regulations now prevailing, are entirely forbid; and bending the knee before them, as the Roman catholics do, is termed idolatry. At prayers, they prostrate themselves on the earth, and spend whole nights in the church at devotion, at the eve of certain particular festivals. They often throw themselves on the ground, beating their heads against it, and then making the sign of the cross. There are intervals of their divine service, in which they discourse of temporal affairs; and the emperor, who always assists at public worship attended by his whole court, dispatches business at the same time; he is generally angry with any of his people whom he misses at church.

The Russians mistake maple for sycamore, and adorn their churches with it at Whitsuntide, believing that, as manna fell on the oak leaf in the desert, the Holy Ghost descends on those boughs, when they are prostrate on the floor: they are forbidden, by a late injunction, the use of musical instruments in their churches. Three hours after

fun-rise, they celebrate a form of prayer called obedni; one after fun-set, called vackerny; and a third called zaoutrings, an hour after midnight.

The obedni is, "Have mercy upon me, O Lord, according to thy loving kindness, and blot out my transgression, according to thy greatness, and multitude of thy bounties."

The vackerny is, "O Lord, hear my prayer when I call upon thee, and let my cry come unto thee."

The zaoutrings is, "We put our trust in Christ our Saviour, and all our hope is in him."

They repeat "miserere," by them called, "hopedy pomelee," an hundred times over; and that priest, is reckoned the best, who can say it fastest; five or six of them read together in a very confused manner, one conning a prayer, another galloping thro' a chapter, a third spoiling a psalm, and so on. Every priest is called pope, which implies father, as pope or father Paul; pope Nicolas, a bishop, is distinguished by the name of metropolitan, and the patriarch or chief priest is stiled proto-pope: the parish priests are distinguished in their dress, from the laity, only by their bald pates being covered with a red leather cap, and two small pieces of stuff tacked upon each breast; they wear blue, red, yellow, or whatever colour they like best. The crown of their heads is always kept shaven, but they never curtail the rest of their hair, nor their beards: they must have wives, but only one, according to St. Paul's rule, during the whole life, for which reason they use their wives with great tenderness, as their priesthood ceases when the wife dies.

In baptizing, the ceremony is much like that of the church of Rome, but with this difference, that they immerse the whole body of the child in the water: they formerly used to buy infidels on purpose

purpose to oblige them to become Christians, but this custom has, for some years past, been abolished. Whoever chuses to make public profession of their religion, whether Protestant or Papist, must renounce his former baptism, together with his father and mother, and spit three times over his shoulder. Some antient inhabitants of the country have observed, that of a great number of English, Scotch, and Dutch, who have abjured their own, and acknowledged the Russian religion, scarcely one has died a natural death.

Most of the Muscovite marriages are determined upon without much ceremony; the woman is first examined stark naked by five or six of her friends, and if they find any bodily defect, they endeavour to cure it. Perhaps the bridegroom never sees her till he comes to be joined with her for life: the nuptial solemnity is brief; when the priest has tied the knot, the sexton throws hops on her, and wishes her to prove as fruitful as that plant; another officer of the church in a goat's skin coat with the hair outward attends her home, she being led by old women, covered up so close that not any part of her is to be seen, and he prays all the way, that she may have as many children as there are hairs on his coat; the parish priest carries the cross all the way before her, from the church to her husband's house, who is escorted by a company of young men.

While the new-married couple are at table, where bread and salt is laid before them, a chorus of boys and girls sing an epithalamium so grossly impudent, that it is intolerable to a virtuous ear; after this ceremony, the bride and bridegroom are conducted to their bed-chamber, by an old woman, who advises the wife to obey her husband; the husband to love his wife: then the bridegroom sits down, and bids her chuse one of his buskins, to



draw off, having in one of them a whip, and in the other a purse of money or a jewel; if she happens to pitch on that in which the latter is, it is thought a happy omen; but should she light on the whip, it is interpreted into bad luck, and the husband gives her a lash with it, as a token of what she is to expect; after this ceremony, they are left alone for a couple of hours, and then the old women return and examine whether the signs of virginity are apparent; in which case, she ties up the hair that before hung loose over her shoulders, and goes to the mother to demand the marriage portion.

The Russians use their wives with great inhumanity, tho' of late years they are something reformed in this particular; and it has been known that a tradesman of Moscow has burned his wife to death in a smock dipped in spirits of wine, having first beaten her very severely; yet he was never once called to an account for the murder: the laws of Russia not deeming a wife's death, in consequence of the husband's correction, any offence. They sometimes tie them by the hair of the head to a beam, and whip them to death: but these severe punishments are seldom administered except it be for adultery and drunkenness, and now seldom or never; because the bridegroom is obliged to sign certain marriage-articles, whereby he binds himself to treat his wife according to her quality; to allow her good meat and drink, and neither whip, scratch nor kick her.

The woman who kills her husband, is buried in the earth up to the neck, and so left to expire. Few marriages are performed here without being attended with charms and conjurations; and it is said by exorcisms of this nature, a man has been prevented from enjoying his wife; however, he may recover his virility, and overcome these restrictions by the assistance

assistance of the white magician, who may be procured for a small sum of money. The canon law forbids the conjugal commerce on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, and whoever transgresses it, must bathe before he enters the church-porch: the man that takes to himself a second wife, must not enter the church farther than the door; and he, who marries a third time, is excommunicated. If a woman is barren, the husband is at liberty to beat her into a humour of retiring to a convent, if fair means won't induce her. When the czar of Muscovy has a mind to marry, he does it among his own people; the most beautiful young women that the empire affords are sought for and presented to him, and from among them he chuses according to his fancy.

It is said that Alexis Michaelowitz, father to Peter the first, was prevented from marrying a very handsome girl, to whom he was strongly attached, by the contrivance of his chief minister Boaris Juanowitz, who procured a match between him and Mary, daughter of Eliah Danelowitz, a man of mean origin, but of a good fortune; she was a woman of no extraordinary beauty, but witty, cunning, and apparently devout and modest. As the statesman knew that openly pretending to oppose the czar's inclination, might not only be ineffectual, but also perhaps purchase his aversion, he bribed the women who were to present the crown to the lady whom his master had chosen, to tie her hair so very hard, as to throw her into a swoon, whereupon they gave out she had the falling sickness; and her father who brought her to court, was accused of treason, whipt in an ignominious manner, and banished into Siberia.

After this accident, Boaris prevailed upon his sovereign to espouse Mary, and he consented for fear of being bewitched; which he was tacitly made to believe

believe would be the consequence of his refusal. The artful minister wedded Mary's sister, hoping to aggrandize himself by this alliance, and to secure his interest at court upon a foundation not to be shaken ; but tho' he acquired many advantages by it, he sacrificed what was beyond them all, his peace. It could not prove otherwise ; he was old, consequently jealous ; she was young and handsome ; he soon quarrelled with her, and caused Mr. William Barnsley, a Worcestershire gentleman, with whom he thought her too familiar, to be banished into Siberia. This gentleman after being in exile twenty years, returned to Moscow, made profession of the Russian religion, and married a woman of a very large fortune, with whom he lived in the most splendid manner.

The czar, by some chance, discovering that the fainting fit of his intended wife was only casual, it grieved him extremely ; he recalled her father, and settled upon him and her a very considerable pension ; while she carefully preserved the ring and handkerchief that he had given her, in remembrance of the dignity she had been so near obtaining ; nor would she ever consent to marry, tho' she had many considerable offers made to her : none of the czarina Mary's relations, not even her father or uncle dared to mention their being a-kin to the royal family, tho' the latter possessed some very considerable posts.

The czarowitz, or prince royal, is kept from every vulgar eye, under the care of a few people to whom his education is entrusted, till he is fifteen years of age ; when he is publicly exposed in the market place, that the Muscovites may be certain of his identity ; for they have had impostors put upon them often : nor will the ordinary sort of people here permit their children to stand in the way of being gazed at, because they reckon that there is

ill luck in the eyes of strangers. They wean their infants, who are commonly strong and robust, in less than a couple of months; after which, they give them a cow's dry dug set either in horn, or silver to suck; and make them keep strict fasts at two years old.

## CHAP. XI.

*Hardships laid on the young people of Russia: their severe fasts: several sorts of viands deemed by them impure: of the several kinds of mushrooms used in this country: the advantages of their fasts to the nation in general: their penance: an account of the first erection of the patriarchal dignity of Moscow: Palm Sunday pompously celebrated: a comical story of an ignorant servant: eggs presented at Easter: the women great drinkers: the great debauchery of the people in general: an account of their music.*

THE young people who depend either on parents or superiors, dare not upon any account refuse the husband or wife chosen for them. And it was in vain for a Dutch widow, who was very rich, to plead that she had made a vow never to marry again, when Boaris had pitched upon her as a good match for one of his friends: the answer that Boaris's lady, to whom she complained of the severity of his injunction, made, was, "What, would you dishonour my lord and my husband, by making him break his word with his friend, and rejecting his choice?"

They have four general fasts in the year, during which time they live on cabbage, cucumbers, and rye bread, drinking nothing but quassi, a liquor not so strong as small beer; not even tasting fish, and reckoning it a transgression to drink after a

man

man who has eat flesh ; to use a knife that has cut meat, in less than twenty-four hours after, or to take any thing, tho' ever so essential even to their health, wherein there is harts horn, sugar, or sugar candy, or pil. lepor.

There are many sorts of viands, which they reckon impure, as horse flesh, veal, elk, hare, and rabbit, neither will they touch asses-milk, mares-milk, nor venice-treacle, because it is partly made of vipers flesh ; nor any thing in which there is mixed musk, civet, or the flesh of the castor. Yet they are no Jews, for they have good bacon, and in one of the czar's magazines, which was sometime ago burnt down, were consumed no less than six thousand fitches.

Russia produces a great variety of mushrooms, which are a vast relief to the poor, and form always a course at the tables of the rich ; there are above a thousand waggon loads of them sold yearly in Moscow ; among which there are scarcely ny of those that botanists rank in the class of poisons. There is an early species of them called the smitzskies or honey-mushrooms ; Gerrard counts them venomous, and calls them *fungi farinofi* ; they are very dear and served up as a great delicacy to the tables of all the Russian nobility, in pies, soups, &c. but the earliest sort of all are the gribbeys, which are brown or rather of a deep yellow, with a tail like a pilaster, and swelling out in the middle. The volnitzies are brown and black, with some red intermixed, they are sharp on the top ; the growzdys are perforated like a honeycomb, and the juice of them is so very bitter and tart, as to cause very painful blisters in the mouth, if they are tasted before being boiled : and there are others of a more luscious oily nature, distinguished by the name of mastamies, which signifies



fies fat, or oily; and these last are subdivided into very different classes.

Were it not for their fasts, the Muscovites would be in want of meat often, because they shut up their cattle in houses during five or six months of winter, nor, were it otherwise, would the peasants give themselves much trouble about increasing their stock; lest when they had so done, their chief should carry all away; an instance of oppression which is not unusual. They sometimes abstain from every sort of food but bread, salt, and cucumbers; and their drink is fair water; they bend their bodies like a bow, and strike their heads against an image, and this is a common penance with them.

The patriarch of Russia is the head of the church, which was subject to the patriarch of Constantinople till 1588; when Hieronomo who had filled the chair very unworthily for some years, was degraded by the Greek clergy. He thereupon came to Moscow from Constantinople; and for a certain sum of money to be paid him by the czar Theodore Juanowitz, offered to resign his dignity to the metropolitan Jacob; to whom accordingly he delivered the staff and tiara, on the 15th of January in the abovementioned year, in the church of our lady, having first made a laboured oration. Besides the public ceremony, he gave an instrument in his own hand-writing, confirming what he had done; after which, he retired from Moscow loaded with rich presents. This patriarch, say the historians who mention the transaction, was a fellow of most infamous character; a liar, as subtle and as impudent as ever Greece, of which he was a native, produced: he had been formally and legally expelled from the patriarch's chair, and consequently had no right to transfer the dignity with which he pretended to part; however, as it saved a round sum of money to the nation, which

went

went before this occurrence yearly by way of ecclesiastical tribute to Constantinople, the czar confirmed the metropolitan Jacob's election; and the Russian clergy no longer acknowledged any other patriarch.

No festival is observed in Russia with so much pomp and ceremony as Palm-Sunday; there is then a procession of the most magnificent nature, and before it a hundred men are ordered to clean the streets thro' which it is to pass; the czar assists at it on foot, dressed in cloth of gold, his train borne up by the greatest men in the nation, and the whole court attending him. He is immediately preceded by the officers of his household, the first of whom carries his handkerchief upon his arm, lying upon another of the richest embroidery; he stops at a sort of free-stone platform, where turning to the east, and bending his body almost double, he says a few prayers, and proceeds to the church of Jerusalem, which is but a very little distance from this resting-place, where he stays about an hour; in his return to his palace, the bridle of the patriarch's horse rests upon the czar's arm; the horse, whose head is held by a boy or nobleman, is covered with white linen, and the patriarch, holding a cross and distributing benedictions, sits sideways upon it like a woman: the bridle is three ells long, and is supported by three gentlemen who follow the czar; the patriarch wears a flat cap at that time, edged with ermine, and finely adorned with loops and buttons of gold and diamonds; before him are displayed several pieces of stuff each three or four ells long, and a different colour one from another. About five hundred priests assist at this ceremony, all covered with such caps as are sometimes seen in the hands of the roman catholic clergy: those of them who are nearest the patriarch, bear pictures of the holy virgin, ornamented

ornamented with gold, jewels, and beads of pearl' and others books and crosses, &c. Some of them carry the gospels, which are surprizingly valuable; a single leaf has been known to cost six thousand pound.

The lawyers and other gentlemen carry in their hands branches of willow instead of palm, while the procession is passing, in which I should have observed there is borne a triumphal arch, containing an apple-tree, the fruit of which several little boys fixed for that purpose in the machine, endeavour to reach; the czar's guards, as well as other spectators, prostrate themselves on the ground. After the ceremony, the czar is presented by the patriarch with a purse containing a hundred rubles, and perhaps he afterwards honours him with his company to dinner.

From a niche in the church of Jerusalem, the patriarch gives his blessing to the people, concluding it with these words, "Go and eat nothing for three days." Which injunction having been heard by a servant of an English merchant, who was a native of a very distant province, was understood according to the letter, and the poor fellow absolutely fulfilled it; however, he swore he would never go to church again to receive the patriarch's blessing, which he rather thought a curse, being almost starved.

Easter is a season of great merriment with them, not only for the blessing in remembrance of which it is observed, but because it puts an end to their long and severe fast; at that time the salute is, "Christ is risen," and the answer is, "Yea, he is truly risen;" and they also present one another with eggs finely painted of blue, red, green, and other colours; some of these eggs cost two rix-dollars a piece: while this festival continues, all the czar's household kiss the patriarch's hand; and

to people of the first quality he gives three eggs; to others two, and to those of an inferior rank one.

No merry-meeting is concluded among the Russians without drunkenness, and this is so common even among the women of fashion, that the usual answer to a lady's message, inquiring after the welfare of her guests, on the ensuing day, is, "I thank your mistress for the good cheer with which she entertained me, for I was so merry that I can't recollect how I got home." He who dies without confession and extreme unction, is not allowed Christian burial, and there is something ridiculous enough in their ceremony of burying; for as soon as the breath has left the body, it is put into a coffin, and at the crown of the head is laid a piece of bread, that the deceased may not be hungry on his road to heaven; to preserve him from being fatigued, a pair of black shoes are put on the feet; for his other necessary expences, some small pieces of money are put into the mouth; and in one hand is lodged a scroll of paper directed to St. Nicholas, and signed by the parish priest, who therein asserts the deceased to have been a man of a good life. If he has left behind him a wife, she is forced not only to appear inconsolable herself, but to hire other women to mourn for her; who in a very dismal strain of lamentation ask such questions as these:

"Ah! my dear! why did you die? wherefore did you leave us? had you not a wife who was exceedingly dutiful? did not she bring forth handsome children and take good care of your house? was she not kind and lovely? I am sure she did all in her power to serve you? and never let you want for good brandy? had you not as much as you could possibly drink?"

It seems they look upon brandy to be the liquor of immortality, and they have a fort so very strong, that it is said to take fire in the mouth, so that they have generally milk at hand wherewith to quench it; and without this remedy, the country people imagine themselves in great danger. The carnival is celebrated by the Muscovites in the most debauched manner, and they drink so hard the week immediately preceding Lent, that one would imagine they were laying in a stock for life. Many of them going home after having taken in more than they can bear, fall down in the snow, and are frozen to death; and if they chance to be found by any of their acquaintance in that condition, it is a great chance if they are relieved; for should they expire in the hands of the assistant, he is examined by a person called the judge of the Zemsky precause, who makes him pay dearly for his charity.

There are few carnivals without two or three hundred such accidents, and it is not uncommon to see nine or ten dead bodies of people, who have perished in this manner, drawn all together upon one sledge; one perhaps with a piece gnawed from the shoulder or the face, and another of which nothing is left but bones: those that expire thus, are either left two or three days in a certain public place to be owned, or else carried to the bogzi-dome or house of God, in which is a vaulted cave, wherein perhaps three or four hundred carcasses lie at one time, and these the priests inter one after another in St. John's church yard; after which the grave, for a whole month, is only covered with a thick mat to keep out the rain, and the priest reads a psalm over it once a day. The sacred images kept in their houses by the Muscovites, were generally coarse and ugly, and it was usual to answer, "That their gods were not proud,"



"proud," to such as asked why they represented them so very deformed. When an image was grown old or disliked by its owner, it was carried to him who made it, and with a little money was given in lieu of a new one; in this sort of traffic, there never was any thing said, the vender pushing the purchaser from him without speaking a word, till he offered up to his liking.

Those that were deemed entirely useless, were flung with a piece of silver into the water, with this farewell, either, "Adieu, brother," or, "God be with you my brother." If a church chanced to be burned, they only said it had ascended; and they said the same of their images, which are the first things they save from a fire. These images they call their St. Nicolases, and dress them in the most splendid manner; giving them often, thus ornamented, to the church in which they pay their devotions. The priests caused a poor woman's hands to be cut off for taking a ruby or two from an image of her own, which she had dressed up when in good circumstances: her distress was very great, she had formally represented it to St. Nicolas, and only asked him to lend her those jewels, which she took because he made no reply; interpreting his silence into consent. The St. Nicolases that are kept in private houses are also very splendidly set off, but it often happens, upon an emergency, that they are stripped by their owners stark naked.

Neither the monks nor nuns of Russia are bound down by the strictest rules; the former trade in horses, hops, wheat, or any thing they can make money of, and the latter go abroad just when they please, taking more liberties than become their sex, not to talk of their profession. Those who are proved heretics are flung from the top of a low house

house into a fire made close to it, wherein they are burned to ashes.

A late patriarch has forbid the making of musical instruments, as tending to enervate the people and damage the state; however, they are fondest of the bag-pipe, and they have a violin with a belly like a lute, but they cannot play more than four or five notes, their gamut being not at all varied, for they use ga, ga, ge, instead of sol, fa, la; they borrow it either from the Greeks or Slavonians: their cadences are the most extravagant in the world, and nothing can be conceived more ridiculous than their wretched imitation of the Italian recitative. It is a little odd that their music should be so wretched, as they have public schools wherein it is taught to their children with great care and exactness. The beggars of Muscovy ask alms, and set forth their grievances in a piteous sort of recitative; and this occasioned a Muscovite ambassador at the Hague, for whose entertainment the best vocal and instrumental performers were provided, to answer to one who asked him how he liked the performance, "Very well indeed; the beggars with us display their profession in the very same manner." The warlike music of these people is the kettle-drum; they have some brass hunting-horns and trumpets, which they know not rightly how to manage. Dancing they think much beneath their gravity; but their Tartarian and Polish slaves are called in, to divert their hours of dissipation and revelling with uncouth measures.

The government of Muscovy is absolute monarchy. Here are few written laws; custom is the general rule of the courts of justice, which are called precauses, and the sentence pronounced by the judge, (when he is not bribed, a failing to which he is very liable) is decisive. The clerks kneel, tho' they have tables before them, and write their lines

very

very far distant from one another, by which means they waste a deal of paper, and increase the expence of their client, who suffers as much in the hands of these harpies, who are called podiacks, and their principal diack, as if his affairs were under the direction of an English attorney. Their law-business runs like petition, and the sheets containing it are rolled up, and presented by the advocate to the judge, or to a boyar who superintends him, if he thinks proper to fill the bench; and he answers by his secretary, by whom business is but slowly dispatched, if the advocate is not permitted to cross his palm: the touch of money rouses him from his inattention, and inspires him with expedition. The Russian alphabet consists of forty-two characters, most of them Greek.

## C H A P XII.

*Their courts of justice and usage of criminals; their propensity to many crimes of a very horrid nature: their prodigious veneration for St. Nicolas: the manner in which great men atone for their rapine: the character of the Russian language: a character of the Poles introduced: great barbarity in the Polish laws: the Poles a very nasty people: powdering the hair first used by them: some account of the customs and manners of the Circassians: Russia revolts from the Tartarian government: a remarkable story of an English ambassador.*

THE proceedings in general of the Russian courts of judicature are too confused for us to pretend giving a distinct account of them. There is one established in every province, the head of which represents the czar, and has under him a chancellor, diack or secretary, sub-secretaries, &c.

if the judge is not corrupted, the plaintiff is almost sure to obtain a verdict in his favour.

Criminals are seldom condemned to death in Russia; whipping is a common punishment; but they have others to which death is far preferable. A murder may be bought off for a certain sum; and if no body else prosecutes a murderer, the magistrate never does. No man can be convicted of a capital crime unless he confesses it himself; but the means used to force that confession are terrible indeed! The criminal first undergoes the strapado; if he continues silent, he is lashed by the common executioner with a cat a-nine-tails, six or seven blows of which might kill, if forcibly applied; his sides are sometimes pierced with red-hot irons; or his bones are slit, salted, and hanging still to his body, broiled on a slow fire; should he still prove mute, great pains are taken to cure his wounds, and if he survives, these torments are repeated after twenty days. At other times the poor wretch is half dead; and if he bears all out with resolution, the horrid scene is closed by dropping boiling lead regularly on his head, for that purpose close shaven.

A coiner is forced to swallow some metal melted, of the coin which he counterfeited. A man who shot an owl in the court-yard of the palace, had his right-hand and left leg cut off, because some of the shot chanced to enter the czar's chamber. Traitors, after being severely tortured, are sent into Siberia, perhaps with their eyes pulled out, or their ears cut off, abandoned on the road to perish.

Hanging offenders is a practice very lately introduced into Russia; it was formerly not allowed of, because they supposed the soul was thereby forced thro' the fundament, and that it could not pass that way without being defiled. The criminal is obliged to tie the rope about his own neck, and to

fling himself off when the executioner bids him. Tho' the office of hangman is not so reputable here as in France, where it confers gentility, if you will believe him who enjoys it, yet it is hereditary, and the father is careful to give his children a true knowledge of the trade. Neither sodomy nor bestiality are here, as in other countries, punished with death; to prevent these beastly practices, which are too common, marriage is prodigiously encouraged; for to such an height had they reached some time ago, that a fellow being surprised closely intriguing with a cow, cried out to him who caught him in this abominable action, "Ne mis-heay;" which is as much as to say, "Do not disturb me;" and from that time forward this unnatural crime has been called, ne misheay. Criminals used, till very lately, to be brought to trial at Moscow, from all parts of the kingdom, which was expensive and inconvenient.

The people who inhabit about Archangel and Cola look upon St. Nicholas as a god; and it would be as much as a man's life is worth to seem to suspect the truth of their affirming that he sailed from Italy to a place near Archangel, called St. Nicholas's Port, upon a millstone.

They celebrate festivals in honour of other saints; but him they hold in the greatest esteem, saying, he was one of themselves, and a native of Russia, consequently he must naturally have more regard for them than St. Peter or St. Paul, who never knew them. The boyars or great men, who are wealthy, having perhaps amassed their riches by plundering strangers, or invading the property of neighbouring nations, think that, by building churches, which they furnish with a good ring of bells, and several richly adorned St. Nicholases, they expiate all their offences in the sight of heaven. The Russians, except those who are a little polished by traffic with



with foreign nations, are all barbarous and brutal.

The language of Russia, in which there are forty-two characters, some of them Greek, differs from that of Poland as the Scottish dialect does from the English; and tho' the latter is counted more polite and expressive, it is not in reality less harsh; for in some words there are six consonants together, without one intervening vowel, so that they cannot be spoken without sputtering.

The Muscovites cannot go out of the czar's dominions without his leave, which is not easily obtained; and this restriction gives the Poles, who may travel whither they please, an opportunity of excelling them in manners: yet the Poles, with all their advantages, are still less polished than their southern neighbours; they are proud, ignorant, prodigal, ostentatious, and self-conceited; they affect shewy horses and rich furniture, these being what first strike the eye; they are willing to entertain strangers, in order to give impressions of their grandeur, for three or four days, but not longer; in that time they display their utmost vanity, and make their guests four or five times drunk, for they drink as hard, or rather harder than the Russians, and there is scarcely a gentleman in all Poland who has not been maimed or wounded, for they are very quarrelsome in their cups, at some drunken bout. The laws of Poland are so barbarous, that a murderer is only fined in a certain sum of money. To kill a clown costs about five crowns, and the price rises in proportion to the rank in life of the person murdered. The regal power is prodigiously confined; the king can do nothing without the consent of the general diet; and it is in the power of one member to prevent a point of the utmost consequence from being carried, by laying his hand to his sword, which implies his readiness to oppose it. Nothing can be done here without unanimity. Hen-

ry III. who afterwards reigned in France, found the Polish crown such a burden, that he refused to keep it upon any terms.

The Muscovites, when they conquered Vilna, and some provinces on the Polish frontiers, were poxed by the Polish women; the disorder was unknown before that time in Russia, but common in Poland, as well as a scurf called plica, caused by drinking water, that flows over strata of arsenic whereby it is impregnated. Once this got footing in a family, it spread round, and every member was sure of being infected: perhaps no distemper can be more loathsome; it is not only offensive in the highest degree to the eye but to the nose; for no old ulcer can smell worse, yet it is thought a sign of health, and a mark of quality: a gentleman has but a bad opinion of himself if he is without it. The hair of the monks as well as gentry is often seen so clotted together, that the sight is enough to turn one's stomach; those horses which are touched with it are deemed most bold and serviceable; their tails are often glewed together with the matter issuing from the sores, and if ever so little of it be cut off, the beast either runs mad, dies, or by falling lame, blind, &c. is rendered unfit for use. It is said, that to hide this scurf, the Poles first brought up the fashion of powdering the hair, which was from them copied by other European nations: nor is this improbable, for starch is a great manufacture in Poland.

The Muscovites in private affairs are very faithful; they abhor nothing so much as a false oath, and yet they scruple not breaking the most solemn alliances, and the most explicit public treaties, if their interest should require it. The Russians bow very low when they salute; the Poles are more stately and upright; the Tartars clasp the knees of their superiors, but equals they salute by shaking

one hand, and putting a finger of the other on the mouth of him whom they address; and the Circassians inquire after the welfare of the servants, cows, sheep, dogs, horses, cocks, hens, and turkeys of him whom they compliment.

The Circassians inhabit part of Tartary, where the soil is more temperate and fertile than that of Russia; they are swarthy in their complexions, and barbarous in their manners. The women are fat, and so given to drinking, that at a public entertainment they are generally seen to reel before the victuals are served up; then they eat themselves sober, get drunk a second time, and a second time dispel the fumes of their excess, by dancing, of which they are very fond, or some other agreeable exercises. Their common musical instrument is a fiddle, and he who cannot play must not expect to be a favourite with the ladies.

The Circassians having in an insurrection destroyed all their nobility, they are now divided into tribes, each governed by a colonel chosen by the people, who make very free both with his person and office. Their religion is the same with that of Russia, with this difference, that the Russians allow no strangers to enter their church-doors, while the Circassians throw theirs open to every body, and receive strangers in general with the greatest hospitality and kindness. They are much addicted to witchcraft, and it is a favourite study with the women of quality, not only here but in other parts of Tartary.

Russia was under the dominion of the Tartars till 1479, when John sovereign duke of Volodimir, a man of great bravery, seized on Moscow, and drove the Tartars out of the empire; his successor John Basilowitz, surnamed the Tyrant, raised the reputation of the Russians, before that time the contempt of the north, very considerably; he was  
 3 courage-

courageous and prudent, but very whimsical: he one day presented to his secretary of state an humble petition, signed by himself, in which he entreated him to raise for him, against a certain time specified, an army of two hundred thousand men; in return for which he promised always to remember him in his prayers. The secretary, who knew his oddities, raised the army as fast as possible, and with it John made himself master of Siberia, and several other large territories. He was kind to the commonalty, and severe to the nobility; for which reason he was very dear to the populace. He generally carried a stick in his hand with a sharp iron point, wherewith he used to prick the boyars in the legs as he talked to them, and he who bore this torture without flinching, he ever after valued.

He fined the inhabitants of Bologda severely for cheating their customers with a short yard; and some Englishmen having unthinkingly laughed at his freaks, he ordered them to be brought into his presence, and to frighten them, ordered they should be stripped stark naked; however, he only punished them by setting them to pick up pease, five or six baskets of which were, for that purpose, scattered about the chamber; when he had thus tired them heartily, he ordered them to be refreshed with liquor, then dismissed them, with an admonition to behave better for the future, telling them they should not escape so well another time.

It was John Basilowitz who ordered the hat of an ambassador to be nailed to his head, for appearing covered in his presence; but this did not intimidate Sir Jeremy Bowes, ambassador from queen Elizabeth to Moscow, from boldly wearing his hat in his presence; John thereupon asked him, if he had not heard how he had punished an ambassador already, for presuming to take such a liberty; "Yes; Sir, answered Sir Jeremy, but I am the  
" queen

“ queen of England’s ambassador, who never yet  
 “ stood bareheaded to any prince whatsoever ; her  
 “ I represent, and on her I depend to do me right  
 “ if I am insulted.” “ A brave fellow this, says  
 “ the czar, turning to one of his nobles, who dares  
 “ to act and talk thus for his mistress’s honour ;  
 “ which of you would do as much for me ?”

The ambassador became a favourite with him, and this favour procured him the envy of the nobility, one of whom, having some influence over the czar, advised him to try Sir Jeremy’s skill in horsemanship, for which he was famous, in breaking one that was wild, an experiment in which he hoped Sir Jeremy might break his neck : but he had the mortification to find himself disappointed ; for the gallant Englishman not only backed, but tired him, so that he lay down under him, lost his mettle, and died in a few days. This adventure recommended him still more strongly to the czar, who ever after distinguished him in the most honourable manner.

In a progress which this czar made thro’ the different parts of his empire, not only the boyars or nobility, but almost every body, so well was he beloved, made him presents ; among others a shoemaker determined to show his loyalty, after having consulted with his wife in what manner this might best be done, rooted up a very large turnip that grew in his garden, which together with a pair of lopkies or shoes, he laid at the czar’s feet, who was so pleased with the gift that he ordered his whole court to buy shoes of him, and pay twice their value, whereby the shoemaker was soon enriched, and left a good estate among his children, who were distinguished by the name of Lopostkies. Near this shoemaker’s house stood a tree, at which every traveller in remembrance of him throws off his old shoes.

The czar, by some strange chance apprised of



the views of a gentleman, who, from the encouragement given the shoemaker, expected also some vast recompence for his loyalty, ordered the shoemaker's turnip to be presented to him in return for a very fine horse.

It is said of John Basilowitz, that one winter's day he rambled out in a very mean dress, to a village in the neighbourhood of Moscow, at every house of which he to no purpose entreated a lodging, till he came to the hut of a poor man, whose wife was in labour, and who regaled him to the best of his abilities; in return he told him that he would visit him the next day, and bring godfathers and godmothers to preside at the christening of his child. According to which promise he came with a very splendid train, made a rich man of his host, and ordered every house in the village, his excepted, to be burned, and the inhabitants to be turned into the fields, telling them, that perhaps they might prove more charitable when they themselves experienced the inclemencies of a winter-sky, and knew what it was to be exposed during a cold long night, without covering or provision, to the rigor of the season.

He made one in a gang of robbers, and proposed plundering the royal treasury, offering to shew them an easy way to do it; the fellow to whom he spoke about it, gave him a sound box on the ear, and told him he was a rascal for daring to think of abusing so good a prince, when there were so many rich boyars who preyed upon him, and were not only fair game, but would yield a good booty out of what they filched from the czar. This answer pleased John so very well, that he changed caps with him, and bade him meet him the next day at Duretz, to be merry over a cup of brandy and metheglin. The robber kept the appointment, and was surprised to meet the czar, who called to him, gave him  
good

good advice, and to enable him to observe it, conferred on him a place at court, and thro' his means destroyed the gang to which he belonged.

The czar Michael, grandfather to Peter the Great, was a prince of great humanity and virtue, very kind to strangers, and ambitious of being upon good terms with the other christian powers of Europe: he would have given his daughter in marriage to count Wolmer, natural son to the king of Denmark, but the Russian clergy opposed it because he was a heretic; whereupon the Danish prince challenged him to dispute the truth of their respective religious tenets with one of his chaplains, which they declined; at which refusal the czar Michael was very angry, saying, they professed a strange sort of faith if it was not to be defended by reason and argument: after which reprimand he was seized about bed-time with a violent vomiting, and died, not without suspicion of priestly poison, as a passport to heaven, before the next morning. His empress did not long survive him, and the match was thereupon dropped. He had two sons, the elder of whom died young; he was a prince of great abilities, but very cruel in his childish years, taking great delight in torturing pigeons, by plucking out their eyes, and then wringing off their heads, calling them rebels and traitors.

## C H A P. XIII.

*Some anecdotes relating to Peter the Great's father ; his character a very good one ; his grief for killing an officer : Russia greatly depopulated in his reign, and the reasons for it given : the history of Boaris ; his being banished from court, and recalled : his securing the regard of the people, and dies universally regretted : the Russian government well regulated in many things by Eliah Danelowitz : the character of Nashokin chancellor of the empire : the word czar explained : his many titles, immense revenues and riches.*

**T**HE czarowitz Alexis Michaelowitz succeeded his father Michael ; he was a man about six foot high, full and sanguine, of a very noble presence, generous and good natured, but cruel in his anger. It was remarkable that he never shaved his beard. Being one day solicited to sign the death-warrant of a deserter, he refused it, saying, it was unreasonable he should die for want of so much courage as another, when God had not thought proper to bestow it. He was very devout, not at all debauched, a kind parent, a good father, and a loving husband. He assisted morning and evening at public worship ; and if his health did not permit that attendance, service was performed in his chamber. He used to fast at least eight months out of the twelve, during general fasts making no set meals, except on Saturdays, Sundays, and Tuesdays ; on the other days eating only brown bread and salt, with cucumbers or pickled mushrooms, and drinking nothing but a little small beer. At public processions he always assisted bareheaded, provided the weather was dry ; he furnished a good example to his people of morality and religion ; but he would

not permit them to leave large legacies to the church; and in cases of extremity, under pretence of borrowing, did not scruple to take the plate destined for the service of the altar; to this expedient he was obliged, his own finances being not otherwise sufficient, the church possessing at least two thirds of the empire's riches. On the night of Good Friday it was customary with him to visit the prisons, discharge debtors, pardon some criminals, and relieve others; in a few words, he had numberless good qualities, and had he not sometimes been misguided by his ministers, might have been ranked among the wisest princes of his time.

He seldom drank hard; his common liquor was small beer enlivened with oil of cinnamon or cinnamon-water, which is in great use among the people of quality in Russia; as also a drink not unlike oat-ale, which is called brague, as well as rye-bread, deemed by the Russians wholesomer than wheaten bread, and of this he was very fond. He used to be pleased with making his attendants drunk, that he might thus see their various humours; and he always sent a dish from his own table to his greatest favourites. On Easter-day his nobility and gentry kissed his hand, and he presented them with eggs.

At about a league distant from Moscow he erected a large and commodious workhouse, richly endowed for the reception of the poor, who are therein employed in manufacturing hemp and flax. He also built an hospital within the precincts of his own palace, for the maintenance of old men in distress, with whom he often delighted to discourse of old times. One of the finest sights in the world was to see him and his court encamped at Obranky, a country place about three miles from Moscow, where he generally spent part of the summer, in the most magnificent tents, his own being

cloth of gold lined with fables; that of the czarina, of cloth of silver, lined with ermines; those of the other nobility made of rich stuffs and elegant linings; and in the midst of all, one of a most splendid appearance, which served for a church: guards were posted at proper distances to keep every thing in due order, and all around were placed palisadoes to exclude the mob. The czar Alexis always regreted his having stabbed thro' the heart a man who when he went on a journey pressed forward to speak to him, a liberty which is forbid to every subject; wherefore he suspected this man of a design to assassinate him. On the deceased's being searched he was found to be quite unarmed, and to have intended only presenting a petition to the czar, whom he had no other way of approaching, craving that justice might be done him upon Peter Stelicoro, governor of White Russia, under whom he served as a captain, and who owed him three years pay, which he did not think fit to pay him. Stelicoro was sent for to court, stripped of his honours and possessions, and banished in the most wretched circumstances, the czar saying, that the blood of the deceased should lie at Stelicoro's door, he being the real cause of his death.

He was fond of hunting fallow-deer, and, provided he ran them down, never minded killing them: he used often to fowl with falcons, and always lay in his shirt and drawers under a rich quilt of skin, having but one sheet over and one under him; in his reign the country of Russia was so extremely depopulated, that along the banks of the Wolga six women were to be met for one man; and this scarcity was caused partly by the inroads of the Tartars, who carried above three hundred thousand of the natives into captivity, partly by his own inclination to war, which often hurried him into violent bloody disputes with his neighbours, and by  
a pesti-



a pestilence which destroyed eight hundred thousand men in six years.

Many Jews were introduced to his court thro' the means of a Jewish surgeon who pretended to be a Lutheran, and had established himself at Moscow, by pimping for Bogdan Matfeig, high steward of the czar's household. Matfeig was bred up as the czar's companion, by whom he was held in very great esteem. His wife becoming jealous of him on account of his keeping many concubines, particularly Polish girls, of whom he was very fond, grew so intolerably ill-humoured, that he poisoned her; but the people, among whom some of his foes whispered the murder, murmuring at it, the czar left it to his choice, either to marry a wife and forsake his mistresses, or quit his post. You may be persuaded that he pitched upon the former part of the alternative. The Dutch had secured his interest by presents, and he was no friend to the English. The czar Alexis never visited any of his subjects, except his governor Boaris Juanowitz, and that but once, when he was in a very bad state of health.

Boaris had been a great favourite with his father, in whose education he and a brother of his called Cleat shared; for it is usual to breed up some young people of quality upon an equal footing with the czarowitz, or son of the czar, by way of company for him. Boaris at length obtained such an ascendancy over him, that the management of all affairs, whether public or private, was intrusted to him. He retrenched the expences of his master's household considerably, removed to distant governments such of the nobility as were any way to be feared, and, superior to all their intrigues, advanced none but those in whom he could confide. The people, stirred up by the male-contentments who were out of place, accused the minister of many acts of injustice, and to appease their clamours the

czar was obliged to banish him from court, but the commonalty found the change for the worse; if they imagined themselves before aggrieved, they now found themselves oppressed; murmurs ensued: Boaris, who was a good politician, was soon acquainted with this lucky juncture, nor did he fail to improve the flame, in such a manner, that at length those very people who had been most forward to promote his exile, laboured for his return: it was a favour which they petitioned the czar to grant; it corresponded with his own wishes, and he gratified them. Boaris returned to court in triumph; he was restored to his former power; his misfortunes had taught him moderation; he was more careful to oblige the people, and tenacious of their liberties; so that every day increased their esteem for him: nor were those who had assisted his recall without feeling the effects of his gratitude. In short, when he died, he was bewailed by his prince, and lamented by the people; the ancient nobility alone, whose ambitious schemes he had often traversed, expressed little concern for so very signal a loss.

To him Eliah Danelowitz owed his promotion even to the rank of general of the czar's army. We have remarked before, that the czarina was daughter to Eliah, and that the match was brought about by Boaris; their rise was great, but owing to the czar's being accustomed to chuse a wife among his own people. Eliah had formerly kept a tavern, and his daughter sold mushrooms in the market: notwithstanding the meanness of his origin, Eliah was a man of abilities; he was vigilant, bold, daring, and his memory so excellent, that he knew the business of every man about court, whether civil or military, and could distinguish the quarters of eighty thousand men, with the names and characters of all the different officers; besides, he was

at the head of the treasury, and possessed five or six other considerable posts, all which he managed very judiciously, till his intellects were hurt by an apoplectic fit. His only fault was a tincture of avarice, which induced him to be too rapacious: however the czar, who rather feared than loved him, overlooked this blemish, knowing himself to be heir to what he hoarded, in right of the czarina.

When Eliah's health became impaired, the administration of public affairs devolved upon Nashokin, a man of wisdom, integrity, and temper; his behaviour in the chancellorship, the government of Russia Minor, and several other considerable charges, in which Eliah had been his predecessor, redounded much to the honour of the Russian empire; he concluded an advantageous peace, and formed an alliance with Poland, and made Russia the chief mart of the silk trade of Europe, contriving to have it brought thither from Persia and the Indies, and from thence dispersed to all parts; but this trade was but of short continuance.

He reformed the emperor's household, and regulated the imperial laws; to him was owing the power conferred upon the governor and council of every province, enabling them to pronounce sentence in criminal causes, without removing them to Moscow as formerly; and it was his wisdom that curtailed the laws. A fellow who had abandoned the Jewish religion for the turban, and served as interpreter to the Persian merchants at Moscow, having accused Nashokin of being guilty of some injustice in the court of ambassadors whereof he was chancellor; the czar answered, that he would examine into it, and that if the interpreter's allegations were found false, he should suffer dearly for the slander. He kept his word; the renegado was proved a liar, and received thirty severe lashes, of which

he

he did not speedily recover, while the chancellor's character of justice was more firmly established than ever.

Nashokin, who was a zealous asserter of monarchical principles, had been often heard to say, that he wondered all the kings in Europe, instead of assisting, did not unite to destroy the Dutch, and root out all republics, which are only serviceable to vagabonds and rebels, to whom they are an asylum. Having perused a news paper, wherein was rehearsed the ravages committed by the plague in London, he observed, it was strange the English should chuse thus to spread the alarm of their misfortunes; the wretched, said he, publish their unhappy circumstances that they may profit by the compassion they excite, but the English can have no manner of design in letting all the world know that their metropolis is laid waste by a pestilence, except to warn the world to avoid them, as light-houses are fixed near places of danger, to teach the pilot to shun them.

The conduct of Eliah Nashokin, and two other able ministers, has brought the czar's court into some esteem. The word czar, which in the Russian tongue signifies emperor, is so like Cæsar, that it appears evidently to be derived from it. The bearing of the czar, like that of Germany, is a spread eagle, with this difference, that to the breast of the Russian eagle is affixed St. George on horseback, and there is a mitre between the divided heads; it is said the George was added by John Basilowitz, on his being honoured with the order of the garter by queen Elizabeth, to whom it was said by some politicians of those days, he once intended to have made proposals of marriage: be that as it will, it is certain he had a great respect for the English, and once when things went very wrong with him, and an insurrection at Moscow obliged

obliged him to quit that city, and retire with his treasures to Wologda, where he fortified himself, he had some notion of taking refuge in England.

The czar's titles are, by the grace of God, great lord, czar, duke of Great, Little, and White Russia, sovereign of Moscow, Kiovia, Pladomir, and Novogorod, &c. czar of Casan, czar of Astracan, czar of Siberia, lord of Plefcow, great duke of Smolensko, Twerko, Ugosko, Perinsko, Vealsko, Bolgaricko, lord and great duke of Novogorod, of the provinces of Charnigora, Rhesan, Restore, Yaraslieve, Belowzer, Odouria, Obderia, and Condinea; lord of all the countries lying to the north, lord of the land Yeveria, of all the dutchies of Cotileran, of Grewzintan, and of several other countries and sovereignties, east, west, and north, which we inherit of our Lord, and the monarchs our predecessors, &c.

In this manner was the great seal of the empire of Russia inscribed. The czar's dominions are extensive, his revenues large, and he has a vast quantity of large jewels; most of them indeed are flawed, but the Russians never mind that defect. He has many palaces and country retreats, elegantly furnished, and the apartments hung with the most beautiful tapestries. The gentlemen of his bed-chamber never enter it, but wait within call; and tho' he has ministers of state that live in great splendor, they do not enjoy the same distinction that they are elsewhere used to. When the czar appears in public, which is only on certain days of general rejoicings, his apparel is the richest that can be imagined, and his attendants, which are very numerous, make a glorious shew. When he dines in public, which is very seldom, his nobles also eat in his presence; his guards are posted round his palace, and stand as fixed and silent as if they had seen the Gorgon-head. No body is ad-  
mitted



mitted into the inner-court whose personal attendance is not requisite.

The czar's dress differs from that of his nobles in nothing but its being richer; nor does that of the czarina vary from what her attendant ladies wear, except in her having a higher head-dress and longer shift-sleeves; her gown, as well as those of her women, are not unlike our judges robes, trailing upon the ground. She sometimes travels by night in a chariot, with such women in her train as are necessary about her person; and at other times they hunt together astride on their horses like men, each having a hat on her head, and a skain of silk about her neck. All the czar's issue are called czarowitzes: when the czarina is brought to bed all his subjects make him presents, and he returns them; or if he does not, he is sure to pay for them much more than their value.

Death is the reward of him who blabs of what is done in the czar's palace, or who presumes to penetrate into his designs; and so fearful are the people, that when a gentleman inquired what was the use of a certain building, which was erected to manufacture flax and hemp in, the workmen answered, that no body knew but God and the czar. The czar was once accustomed to examine the registers of his chancery every night, and to maintain men of capacity as spies, who made shift to get into the houses of ambassadors and other great men, as well as to assist at weddings and other festivals; these men faithfully observed every thing that passed, and transferred it to their master's ear.

The czar is so far master of the effects of his people, that the heirs of a subject who dies must petition a certain court erected for that purpose, before they can enter upon his estate. He is inheritor of the possessions of those who die intestate, and have no heirs, as well as of those who forfeit  
their

their possessions when convicted of some capital offence. His customs both on imports and exports are very considerable; he is landlord of the brandy and beer shops, the rents of which yield him a vast sum of money, for some of them are let out at two thousand pistoles per year. The stoves and baths are also his property, and produce a large revenue; for the Muscovites, men, women, and children, are obliged by their religion, to bathe often, and they pay so much each time. When the bath is too hot, it is tempered with cold water, and many Russians rowl themselves in snow before they enter the stove-chambers. Those who hold land immediately from the czar are obliged to furnish his household with provisions of all sorts, as meal, oats, honey, beer, metheglin, fish, oil, &c. in certain quantities to each member.

The czar himself is the principal merchant of his own dominions, for he barter's pot-ashes, hemp, and flax at Archangel for silks, fables, velvets, tissues, sattins, broad-cloth, and damasks. From the martens and sable-skins, sent by the convicts of Siberia into his treasury yearly, he raises prodigious sums. His workmen cost him little or nothing; and he has large profit from the brandy-shops, stoves, bagnios, pitch, hemp, flax, honey, wax, caviare, sturgeons, dry and salt fish, that are brought from Astracan, Casan, the lake of Belsire, and the lakes and rivers that abound throughout all his dominions, but chiefly in Siberia.

## C H A P. XIV.

*A general description of Siberia: great inconveniences in travelling thro' this country: the manner of shooting martens: the beluga and sturgeon described; with the different methods of preparing caviare: a description of the customs and manners of the people of Samojeda: odoriferous shrubs and flowers to be met with here: the Samojedans very jealous of their wives: the artifice of an animal called zourick: a body of them rout a regiment of horse: the Crim and Calmuck Tartars characterised.*

SIBERIA is a province of vast extent, reaching even to the walls of Cathay, but it is very little known to travellers, tho' some people have traversed it even to China and the sea of the Kaimochites, on the north-east part of Great Tartary, or the gulf of Nankin. It would take up six years of a man's life to travel quite thro' Siberia, for most part of the summer the heat will compel him to house, and most part of the winter the cold and snows make the ways impassable. Tumbut, say some, and others Siber, is the capital of this province, and the residence of the viceroy. A traveller must carry his bread with him, for this country yields none; instead of it they use dry-fish, with which they feed their dogs, and in cold weather, for want of better provender, their cows; whereby their milk acquires a fishy taste. They have filberts of a very large size, and the Chinese merchants have taught them to drink tea, by them called chay, with sugar; they deem it exceeding good against the hypochondria, indigestion, and all disorders of the lungs. They have it in papers of a pound each, with the name and weight inscribed in Chinese characters.

Their

Their sledges are drawn by thirty or forty large dogs, and in these they go a hunting, wrapped up in skins, and stay out six or seven weeks together, lying out whole nights in the open fields when the frost is very severe; but they make good fires to keep themselves warm and broil their fish; their dogs are good at starting the marten, which is to be had no where else, and the skin is the chief commodity of the country. This animal is so strong, that if he be shot quite thro' the body, he will escape; the tenderest place about him is his nose, and it is here they commonly hit him, which they can do very dextrously; by these means his skin is not damaged. Sturgeons, and belugas, a fish about twelve foot long of the same species, which eats rather better salted, being whiter than veal, and delicious as marrow, especially when fresh, are found in abundance in the Volga and the river Ob, which waters this province in its passage to the Frozen Sea wherein it is swallowed up; when the melting of the snow brings the flood from the mountains, and the torrent becomes thereby extremely rapid; the sturgeon, in order to be enabled the better to resist its rapidity, is said to swallow large stones.

The most delicious sort of caviare is made by the people of Astracan, out of the soft roes of the sturgeon and beluga, mixed with salt and barrelled up, but it does not keep long. There is another sort of caviare made of the sturgeon's eggs, which are black and clammy; the Turks esteem it mightily, and the Russians call it fekra. Another is made of the beluga's roe only. The Armenians prepare their caviare in a different manner; having cleansed the roe and salted it, they lay it upon slanting boards that the fat and oily parts may drain off; after which preparation they barrel it up, packed hard together, and sell it for use. The  
beluga

beluga is said to have one hundred and fifty roes, and two hundred pounds of eggs, which the Armenians call arminsko fekra.

The people who inhabit the northern parts of Siberia are reported to eat their prisoners of war, from whence they have acquired the name of Samojedans or Tasambeidans, which signify cannibals or men-eaters; they live in round tents, covered with mats or stag-skins, with a hole at the top to let out the smoke from their fires, about which, being made in the middle of the place, they lie. In summer they live on the banks of a river by fishing, and often eat their prey raw; they dry in summer what they intend for the use of winter; and they are fond of feeding on young puppies. Their language is barbarous, and few people understand any thing either of that or their laws, which some pretend to affirm, upon what authority I know not, they execute with severity. They worship the sun and moon, and are great students of magic, he who understands it best among them being accounted most honourable. They are cautious, however, of playing any of their conjuration tricks on the Russians, lest they should meet with a proper punishment; but strangers don't come off so well. I have been told, that one of them, after being made so drunk by an English merchant that he could neither sit, stand, nor go, yet immediately recovered, and was as sober as ever on being touched on the forehead, and having had a few words muttered over him by an old woman. In this country, I have been assured by people of undoubted veracity, they have seen marjoram, sage, endive, onions, and asparagus of a very large size, as well as the most beautiful roses and variegated tulips, with various other roots, flowers, and herbs overrunning the surface, which here spring up spontaneously, while we labour hard to raise them among us.

They



They have great plenty of turnips, carrots, and parsnips, and the merchants yearly export great quantities of nitre and fal. gem. a salt particularly bright.

In the south of Siberia, there is a forest five hundred miles long, wherein are vast fields of fine red cherries, but of a sourish taste, tho' when transplanted, they become a good fruit; they are all dwarf trees, not above two or three feet high, the reason of which is, that the grass of the forest being long and dry, is apt to be kindled by the fires which travellers leave behind them unquenched, and produces a conflagration, from which it is often found hard to escape; so swiftly does it spread, consuming all before it; and this misfortune happening often, the trees are not permitted to grow to that size whereto they might otherwise attain. The riches of these people consists in herds of stags and elks, which are larger than elsewhere; they draw sledges eighty miles a day with ease; and are so tame that they will stand still to be harnessed. When they sell a stag to a foreigner, they keep the intrails and filthiest parts to eat.

When they go to hunt, they consult their priest what course to take, and he is seldom out in his guess, perhaps from an exact knowledge of the country, and the places to which the game retires; it is usual for fathers to sell their female children at six or seven years old; they have chapmen in plenty to purchase them at this age, that they may be sure of maidenheads. When they go a hunting they lock their wives up, and are said to have a device to hinder their wives from making cuckolds of them in their absence; in short no Italian can be more jealous than the Samojedans in general.

In this province is found an animal called a zou-rick, shaped like a badger, but having a more agreeable face; it has short legs, and a black, sleek skin, a little spotted; it burrows under ground like a rabbit.

rabbit. Surprizing stories are told of this animal's œconomy, of the cleanliness of their dens, of their ceremonies in burying the bodies of any of them that chance to die; of their fighting with, and taking each other prisoners, of their keeping the vanquished in captivity, as well as compelling them to lay in hay and oats for their winter subsistence: these creatures make a sort of a howling noise which is very horrid; and great numbers of them having assembled in a wood, near which a regiment of horse was drawn up, the horses were so intimidated, that they galloped off to a distance of ten miles, nor could the men's best skill, who by the bye were something frightened too, stop them.

The perivostick's skin is of a light brown colour spotted with black and white, the fur is not much esteemed, because it is short, consequently not warm; however, the Russians make cloaths of it for summer-wear. The perivostick is an amphibious animal, and is said to derive its name, which signifies to bear from place to place, from its delighting to carry squirrels and ermines on its back thro' the river. The sagacity of the Siberian squirrel is much talked of, and it is said to cross the river on a little piece of wood, launched for that purpose by itself, and steered by its tail, when it is in search of subsistence; if the wind continues fair, the voyage is made in safety, but if it chance to change, the poor squirrel is infallibly drowned.

In the neighbourhood of Casan and Astracan, and sometimes about Archangel, there is found a species of birds of the size of a woodcock, with the back and legs of a snipe, and the neck of an English game cock; like which they engage each other, and sustain a very stout fight, standing on their guard with their beaks fixed to the ground; they are better food than a quail: in Archangel, they often

often catch a bird of the hawk kind, not larger than a thrush, which preys upon lesser birds after having cleansed them very neatly : there is also one about the size of a swan, with a short thick neck, so very wide, that it can swallow a fish six inches broad ; they fly in companies of a semicircular form, not far above the surface of the water, watching for food. The Russians use the fat of this bird as a cure for bruises and aches, and call it *dika baba*, which in that tongue signifies, “ a wild old woman.”

The story which is mentioned by Scaliger and many other writers of an animal plant, flourishing in this country, called *borometz* or *barannetz*, which is as much as to say, a lamb or a little sheep, is now generally regarded as fabulous : it was said to grow in the form of a lamb covered with a soft down, to a pretty large size, to consume all the grass that grew near it, as if for sustenance ; and that no animal would touch it but the wolf, who preyed upon it as mistaking it in reality for a lamb, by which means he was often baited to destruction.

Having given you some account of Siberia, because a province of the Russian empire, we shall, before we close this narration, deliver a word or two relating to the Crim Tartars, as some years since the Russians were tributary to them ; the city of Moscow alone paying a thousand stags-skin coats yearly to them, and the czar being by articles bound to feed the chain of Tartary's horse with oats out of his cap held by himself.

The Crim Tartars are now in subjection to the Turks, and the city of Crim, which gives name to the whole territory, is built near the Tartarian sea, of brick and stone, and encompassed with strong walls. The Crim Tartars are flat nosed,

with hollow eyes, low foreheads, broad square shoulders, and middle-sized; there is something in them so very particular, that they may be easily distinguished from any other people; they flatten the noses of their children as soon as born, because they say they, it is ridiculous to let them stand in their light; their religion is Mahometanism, and they mock, not unjustly, the superstitious respect paid by the Muscovites to St. Nicholas.

They are no more than a troop of banditti, that live upon the spoil and plunder of their neighbours; and if they are vanquished, they disperse instantly, but they meet again at night, to renew their incursions, and settle their progress for the ensuing day. They are very robust, and will ride eighty miles a day, each having three or four horses of his own; so that they are enabled to change pretty often: when any of these die, they cut them in pieces, and feed on them raw with as much appetite as we do on the best beef or mutton; however, some of the more delicate clap these pieces between the horse's back and the saddle, whereby it is sodden; and as they are hungry, they take it out to devour.

Mare's milk, and the blood of a horse drawn on purpose, is their common remedy against almost all disorders: they have the most penetrating eyes of any people in the world, for if nothing intercepts the view, they will take in a sweep of fifty miles; they abstain from salt, because they have a vain notion that it is prejudicial to the sight; and from bread, because folks, say they, are thereby rendered unactive and heavy. They ride with a loose rein, and can raise themselves on the stirrup and shoot back upon their foes in full gallop.

The Calmuck Tartars, among whom Tamerlane was born, possess a very extensive tract of land

land equal to the third of the empire of Russia; they live in tents, and only remove when the pasture is consumed; they are larger, more swarthy, and better natured than those that are natives of the Crimea; their women are fit for war, and hunt like the men on horseback; and they have been known more than once to beat the Crime Tartars.





Mexico, where he was sold to a baker, who forced him to cry bread about the streets, with a log tied to his leg; nor could either money or friends procure his release. After living some months at Port-Royal, I accepted some offers made me by captain Cook, and captain Lynch, who were going to make reprisals upon the Spanish settlements on the Isthmus; in this expedition, they came up with the well known Dampier, with whom joining forces, they landed and committed many depredations. They had mustered and chose out their best men, and set forward on an expedition over land on the 1st of May 1681.

On the fifth day of their progress, a man drying some gunpowder carelessly on a silver plate, it took fire close to my knee, and not only tore the flesh clear from the bone, but left great part of my thigh also raw and uncovered. This was an accident productive of extreme pain, which I endeavoured to soften by some medicines that I carried in my knapsack; but of this assistance I was in three or four days deprived by the desertion of the negro, who attended me, and carried my luggage. The anguish of the wound beginning to increase for want of emollients, and the fatigue of travelling being too much for me to endure; my companions were obliged to leave me behind among the Indians of Darien, together with Mr. Richard Gopson, who had been apprentice to a druggist in London, and having had a good education. took every opportunity of increasing it, and John Higginson, a mariner, both of whom were reduced to the inability of going further on.

We were afterwards joined by Robert Spratlin, and William Bowman; so that we were five in all. Some of the Indians, among whom we were obliged to sojourn, perceiving my hurt, applied to it certain salutiferous herbs chewed to a consistency,

and spread upon a plantain leaf, whereby a complete cure was performed in about twenty days; tho' there remained a weakness ever after in my knee. In other respects, however, the people did not seem over and above civil, for they were apt to laugh and scoff at us, giving us no food but green or withered plantains, which they flung to us, as if to the dogs; and had not one of them, who having been a short while prisoner at Panama, had learned to jabber a little Spanish, consequently could share in their conversation, taken it into his head to bring us something better in the night, without the privacy of his brethren, we should have been very badly off.

On consideration, it appeared that this tendency to use us ill, was founded on our comrades having forced some of the inhabitants, against their wills, to guide them; an office, which they would rather have declined, the season being rainy, and consequently traveling very inconvenient. Their resentment against us increased, as they did not find these guides return so soon as they reckoned that they ought to do; and in consequence of this disappointment, supposing it to arise from their having been murdered by the ship's company, it was determined to revenge the supposed loss upon me and my unhappy company; a pile of wood, whereon to sacrifice us, having been absolutely prepared for that purpose: and they were only staid from executing their cruel intentions by the persuasion of their chief named Lacenta, who proposed sending us northward under care of two guides, who might learn from the Indians on the coast, what was become of those who were missing.

One of the guides chosen for this expedition, was the Indian who had before befriended us, and the other was one who had manifested himself al-

ways

ways our inveterate enemy. During the march, we were fed only with dry maiz, and that but sparingly bestowed. Our lodging was the bare earth, which was cold and wet, for it rained, thundered, and lightened all the way; and the dropping of the trees that were our only covering, increased the inconveniency. The third night, we rested ourselves on the top of a small hill, which in the morning, was by the flood that had fallen while we slept, formed into an island, the land all round being covered deep with water: and here our guides left us to shift for ourselves, and made the best of their way back to their own country. The third day after our having encamped here, the waters being lessened, we proceeded on our journey, steering northward by the help of a pocket compass; and about six in the evening arrived on the banks of a river which was very deep, and over this we inferred our ship mates must have past; as there lay a tree on the bank newly felled.

After some debate, in which we forgot that this river might owe its depth and rapidity to the rains, it was agreed that we were past the main ridge of land that divides the northern and southern Isthmus of America, and that we could not be far from the north sea; in consequence of this determination, the tree was shoved into the water, but was so slippery that we could not stand upon it, and it was with difficulty we got astride; however, we all gained the opposite bank except Bowman, who was but a weak man, and had four hundred pieces of eight at his back; he had been a taylor; him we concluded drowned, as the stream soon hurried him out of sight. When we landed, we searched for a path, which we imagined our company must have made, but the search was in vain, for if there had been any such thing, it was covered with mud and ooze; this disappointment determined us to

cross the river again upon the tree, which we accordingly did, and after a walk of about a quarter of an hour, found Bowman sitting on the bank; the stream had hurried him to an eddy, near which there were fortunately some boughs, by the help of which he had reached the shore.

The day following being the fifth of our present journey, we were so weak for want of food, that had we not found a maccaw tree, of the berries of which we ate very heartily, and carried with us good store, we had certainly perished. On the 6th, we arrived at another river, into which the one we had before crossed dissembogued itself; and as there was a necessity for our passing it, we knew not how to manage, as we had among us only a long case knife. After some deliberation, it was determined to cut some hollow bamboes, of which there are plenty in the woods, and to make them into bark logs, of proper length, and tying them together with the twigs of a shrub like a vine, to trust ourselves in these to the current of the stream. When we had prepared our little floats, we took up our lodging upon a small hill, and having gathered a sufficient quantity of wood for that purpose, made a good fire; round which we had not been long disposed, before there arose a storm of thunder, lightning and rain, accompanied with a sulphurous smell, whereby we were almost choaked, which soon extinguished our fire, and about twelve o'clock at night, we could hear the waters come pouring upon us from every side, with the most horrid noise; which made us seek shelter among the cotton trees, that grew here in great plenty; most of which were free from branches to the height of forty or fifty feet, so that there was no climbing them; however, I by a providential chance stumbled upon one, in the side of which, old time had worn a hole about four feet from the ground;



ground; there was a knob within side of it, on which I sat me down, tho' I could neither sit nor stand upright, and here I fell asleep; but did not continue long in that situation, for the trees and rubbish that were swept down by the flood, dashing perpetually against my azylum, with violent shocks, soon banished that comfortable composure.

When the morning star appeared, which was a most agreeable sight, the water that ran with excessive rapidity, reached up to my knees; tho' they could not be less than five feet from the surface. The storm abated with the opening of the day, the sun began soon after to shine, and the flood ran clear off the land; this circumstance encouraged me to quit my retreat, and tho' I could scarcely stand, so stiff was I with cold, I made shift to reach the spot where we had made our fire, and calling loud for my companions, was only answered by a melancholy echo of my own voice; at this moment I began to despair, and dropped dispirited to the ground; but I was shortly after revived by the approach of Mr. Higginson, who was soon followed by our three other mates; they like me having saved themselves among the trees. The first thing we did, after having returned thanks to God for our mutual preservation, was to look for our bamboes, and we found them full of water and all spoiled; which failure, perhaps, was owing to our having been careless in working them, for they were cracked in many places.

We were now at our wits end, and not knowing what better course to take, resolved, if it was possible, to return to the Indian settlement we had left. As we coasted along the river, we were happily surprized with the sight of a deer lying fast asleep; and we should certainly have killed him, had not the man who was next him, forgotten to wad his piece; so that the shot tumbled out just as he pre-

presented it; and the gun going off at the same instant aroused the deer, which saved himself by flight. This was the eighth day of our march, in all which time we had only fed on a few maccaw berries, and the pith of a bibby tree, which, when split, was a most delicious morsel.

Perceiving the track of a wild hog, we struck directly into it, hoping it might bring us into a plantain walk, as this creature is very fond of the plantain. We had not rambled far along this way, before we perceived two Indian plantations, and now our hearts began to fail us, for tho' we were starving alive, yet we were afraid that the Indians might put us to death; which certainly in such circumstances, if properly considered, was preferable to life. However, to try their inclinations, it was agreed that I should venture among them alone, and the rest of my companions were either to follow or retire according to my reception.

I no sooner entered one of the cabbins, wherein there was some meat boiling over the fire, but the heat of the house and the scent of the victuals affected me so strongly, that I fainted away. The Indians soon brought me to myself, gave me something, and seemed to treat me with more than usual tenderness; what contributed to revive me chiefly was, my perceiving among them those very persons on whose account we were so near being put to death; and it afterwards appeared that our ship-mates had treated them with such kindness, that they thought no return too strong to express their gratitude.

When I was quite recovered, they inquired for the rest of my comrades, whom, on being informed where they were, they soon brought in, except Mr. Gopson, who was so weary he could go no farther, wherefore they carried refreshments out to him. After having remained here seven days, in

which

which we were treated with the greatest humanity, and tolerably recruited seven of the stoutest young men were appointed to conduct us, according to our desire, towards the north sea; these took us under their care with such a right good will, that they conducted us in one day to the river where we found the tree, and whither we had been three days travelling before; when we had walked about a mile along the banks, we found a canoe in which we all embarked, and made up, instead of going down the stream, against the current of which the Indians paddled lustily; at night we lodged in a house where we were very kindly treated, after our conductors had informed our host who and what we were; the next day, we embarked again, having two more hands added to our number, so that we had now six people in our train, who seemed to be emulous in their service; and in six days space, they brought us to the house of Lacenta, whom we mentioned before.

## CHAP. II.

*Lacenta's power, situation, and importance described: his wife recovered by Wafer, from a fit of sickness: the author in vast esteem among the people: the manner in which the people of the Isthmus bleed the sick: the method practised by the Spaniards in gathering gold dust: Wafer lays a scheme to procure his and his companions liberty, and succeeds: they are conducted to the north sea: the Indians assemble their conjurers, who perform the ceremony of paw-wawing; their predictions verified: Mr. Gopson dies: Wafer gets on board his own ship.*

**L**ACENTA lived upon the top of a hill, forming between two great rivers a sort of peninsula; the road, whereby his house was to be approached, was forty feet wide between the rivers, and so extremely well fenced by hollow bamboes, popes heads, and prickly pears, thick set from side to side, that no enemy could come near it in any regular order. He was surrounded with the stateliest cotton trees I ever saw, and fifty of his principal commanders resided in his neighbourhood.

Lacenta, who was a sort of sovereign over all the south Isthmus of Darien, received us very civilly; and having told us, that it was impossible to travel farther, because of the rainy season, dismissed our guides, assured us of his protection, and ordered us quarters among his retinue. Soon after our arrival, Lacenta's wife being one day feverish and very much out of order, I offered to bleed her; which I did, and when he saw the blood spout from the vein, fearing that he should lose his wife, he seized his lance and swore by his tooth, if she did not recover, my life should be the forfeit. I was not moved at his menace,

menace, she soon happily grew well, and I was in more esteem than any man at court; nay Lacenta himself, in presence of all his attendants, kissed my hand out of reverence to my skill.

This example was universally followed, and I became the object of almost general adoration. I was carried about in a hammock from plantation to plantation, administering advice, physic, and phlebotomy to all who stood in need of any; for, when my negro ran away with my knapsack, in which were all my necessaries, I chanced to have a box of instruments and another of medicaments in my pocket, wrapped up in a piece of oil cloth, and these were now of singular use to me. The Indians had the following strange method of bleeding before I came among them. The patient was seated on a stone in the river, and a person skilled in the exercise, shot several little arrows at the body; it is true, they pierced no deeper than the skin; and if they chanced to draw blood, the spectators danced and skipped with a thousand antic gestures.

Lacenta was fond of hunting, and as he liked my company extremely well, he seldom went upon any excursion without me; and as we traversed the south-east part of the country, we could often see the Spaniards gathering gold dust in the rivers. They take it up sand and all in little dishes, and shaking it well, the sand swims and is skimmed off, the gold falling to the bottom, and, by passing a loadstone over it, attract all the iron particles that are among it. When they have cleaned it thus from ore and filth, it is put up in gourds and calabashes; this employment is followed in the dry season, for when it is wet, the rivers are too deep to admit its being practised. On examining my present situation carefully, I began to fear that Lacenta intended never to part with me, and consequently



frequently his great fondness made me very uneasy. However, one day when we were quite tired in pursuit of game that at length escaped us, I took an opportunity of commending the fleetness of English dogs, and assured him that nothing added or could add so much to the pleasure of sporting; making him at the same time an offer of going to England, and bringing some for him from that country.

He seemed at first unwilling to part with me; however, after a pause, he swore by his tooth that he would give my companions for my sake their liberty, and that he would permit me to go to England for some game dogs, provided I would promise sincerely to return and live with him; at which time he assured me he would make me a very great man, and join me in wedlock to his own daughter, who was not yet marriageable. All that he required, I swore by my tooth to perform.

I returned him thanks for his reliance on me, and soon after set out for the north seas, together with my companions, attended by a strong party of armed Indians, besides a train of women who carried our provisions and cloaths; the latter consisting of only a linen frock and a pair of drawers, which I had not worn while among these people, as I went quite naked; and had been by way of ornament, spotted with paint from head to foot, by some women who made a trade of it, and who would fain have rubbed it into my skin thro' slight excoriations generally made for that purpose; but I would not consent to the operation.

In our journey, we passed over many mountains of a stupendous height, and there was one particularly which we were four days in climbing; on the top of it our heads were quite giddy, and we found the air much finer and more subtle than we had ever before experienced. Here we could often see the clouds break and separate far beneath us, but

were too high to see any sign of the valley below; in our descent, we were cured of our vertigoes, and we were obliged to straddle over a ridge, which was very dangerous, and which we could cross no other way. In six days we came to an Indian settlement, on the banks of a river that ran into the north sea; here we were met at the entrance of the town by forty of the principal inhabitants, clothed in long white garments, fringed at the bottom, each holding an half-pike, who received us with great respect. When we asked whether they soon expected any shipping on the coast, they pleaded ignorance; but offered to summon the Pawawers or conjurers, who would satisfy us in that particular. This they accordingly did; and it was somewhat remarkable, that every thing these ministers of Satan pretended to prognosticate happened accordingly. Before they went to work, they turned us out of the house, and every thing belonging to us, lest they should have been retarded in their operations by them, and while they were engaged at it, it is impossible for any man who was not an auditor to conceive the dissonance arising from the noise they made. When they had finished, they ran out of the house all in a muck sweat, and having first washed themselves in the river, delivered the oracle they had received.

On the tenth day after this ceremony, in the morning, we were alarmed with the report of two guns, and soon after were told of the arrival of an English ship, with a Spanish Tartan, of which she had made a prize; this intelligence gave us great satisfaction. We soon persuaded our Indian friends, who were afraid of the Spanish vessel, to carry us on board the English ship, in a canoe, which they did; but in our passage we were overturned; and Mr. Gopson, who was a very weak man, and saved with difficulty from drowning, caught

caught so severe a cold that he died in a few days afterwards, all which had been predicted by the Pawawers. The English ship happened to be the same to which I belonged, and the crew received my four fellow-sufferers with great satisfaction, while for my part, being naked, tanned with the sun, and covered with paint, I remained squat on my hams among the Indians, in order to try if I was very much altered, and I escaped being known for more than an hour, when one of the sailors examining the place where I was pretty curiously, fixed his eye full upon me, and after a minute or two seriously observing me, cried out, " I'll be damned if this is not our doctor."

This exclamation brought a good many of the men together, to whom I discovered myself, and I was received with loud acclamations of joy. I then delivered myself to be washed and cleaned, but my Pictish ornaments stuck so fast to me, that in endeavouring to detach myself from them, I in many places pulled off skin and all. Our ships staid upon the coast near three weeks, in which time our Indian acquaintances paid us many visits; and among them came Lacenta upon a hunting match. They commonly brought with them their wives and children, and we entertained them with such good nature and kindness, that, I dare say, they lamented our departure.

I shall not detain the reader with my various adventures and observations after leaving this place, because he will find these largely treated of in Dampier's voyage round the world; but having given this short account of my travels, I shall proceed to a general description of the Isthmus, from the best observations I could possibly make during the time that I sojourned in that part of America.









## C H A P. III.

*A description of the Isthmus of Darien, the bay and town of Panama, and of Porto-bello; with various other places on the coast.*

THE Isthmus of America, more properly called the Isthmus of Darien, perhaps from the river of that name, whereby the northern coast is bounded to the eastward, lies between eight and ten degrees of north latitude, but in the narrowest part it is little more than one degree broad; whether on the northward it extends only to Porto-bello and Panama, or stretches as far as the Honduras or Nicaragua, I cannot pretend to determine. Along the Isthmus, which is most beautifully diversified with hills rising over hills, and vales of extreme fertility, runs a chain of mountains soaring infinitely beyond the rest, which I shall distinguish by the name of the Main Ridge; the breadth of it is very unequal, and it trends with the Isthmus, being seldom more than twelve or fifteen miles distant from the North Sea, of which we had generally a clear view, there being no hills to intercept the prospect; but the ground, which is a continued forest, gradually declining to the water.

Of the South Sea, on the other side, there is no manner of prospect; not but that the eye might easily take in the distance at which it is, were not its progress stopped by intercepting hills. Tho' some of the rivers that water this tract are pretty large, yet few of them are navigable, the entrance of them being obstructed by shoals and sand-banks. The rivers on the northern coast having but short courses, are very small; Darien is indeed considerable, but

but the depth at its mouth is no way in proportion to its width; however, it deepens as you advance in it.

The river Chagre also rising at a good distance from its outlet, becomes very large and deep before it falls into the sea. The soil varies extremely; in some places it is fruitful, and in others, especially near the sea, it is all a swamp. From Caret Bay to the promontory near the Golden Island it is sufficiently fertile, tho' part of it is sandy, and part of it under water almost always; so that if a man attempts going ashore, he must venture up to the middle in mud.

Caret Bay is small; there are two or three rivulets of fresh water falling into it, and before it are two islands, being pretty high lands, and covered with trees; as there are no rocks about it, it affords very safe anchorage. On the west of the river Darien Cape, is a sandy bay, where there is good anchoring in a hard bottom: before it are three islands, between the most eastward of which, called Golden Island, and the main land is a fair deep channel. On the south side of this island, which is high, rocky, and every where else inaccessible, lies a pretty safe bay.

West of this is another small island covered with mangroves, where the ground is so boggy, that there is no firm anchorage. This island is so close to the Isthmus, that even at high water no ships can pass between them. To the northward of these lies the Island of Pines, divided into hills, which to those at sea serve as a beacon; it is well watered, and covered with tall useful trees. There is a safe bay on the south side of it, inclosed, as it were, in a half moon; but the south side, opposite to the Isthmus, is cragged and rocky. From hence the shore runs north-west to Point Sanballas, near which, among the Sanballoe islands, lies Tickle-me-quickly

harbour. Among the Sanballoe islands, which are very numerous and very small, there is a great diversity of harbours, the chief of which is Springer's Key, and consequently there is almost immediate security against any winds; for which reason, during the war, they are much resorted to by privateers.

These islands are low, flat, and sandy, abounding with trees, such as mammeas, spadilloes, manchineel, &c. Point Sanballas is rocky, long, and low; and being guarded by rocks a mile off at sea, the approach to it is dangerous. Three leagues to the west of Point Sanballas lies Port Scrivan, where there is a good harbour, the entrance of which is dangerous; tho' the landing here is bad, it being swampy ground, yet captain Conon and other privateers chose to march from hence on account of its being little frequented, over land to Porto-bello, in 1619, and by this method of proceeding they escaped being taken notice of by the Spanish scouts, not being discovered till they came within an hour's march of the town.

The place where Nombre de Dios formerly stood is but a bad situation, and the air is still worse; the bay before it is open to the sea; and it affords but little shelter for shipping, which was one reason for its having been quitted by the Spaniards. There are a few straggling islands at the mouth of the bay of Nombre de Dios, between which and the Isthmus a very convenient harbour is formed. the coast all the way hence to Porto-bello is generally rocky; the land is fruitful, very hilly, and covered with trees, except some spots, which the Spanish Indians, who are tributary to Porto-bello, have cleared where they go to church. When you have entered the harbour, the mouth of which is but narrow, it appears to afford good shelter for shipping:

shipping: to this place the Peruvian treasures are brought over land from Panama.

The town of Porto-bello, which forms a half-moon, the sea being the area, lies at the bottom of the harbour, the entrance of which on the left-hand is secured by a strong fort, and on the right by a block-house; there are several other forts protecting the town, scattered very conveniently about, and they contribute very much to the strengthening of it. In these are generally quartered two or three hundred Spanish soldiers; the town is long and narrow, with two principal, and several cross streets; in the middle of it is a small parade, surrounded with houses that are handsome and well-built, as the town in general is. The church is a good edifice; and on the east, from the north to the south side run the king's stables, in which the mules employed to bring in the treasure from Panama are kept. Near these is a small rivulet of fresh water; and between the parade and the governor's house, which is close to the great fort, is a brook, over which is a bridge. The shore, when the tide withdraws, is covered with a black filthy mud, whence arise, promoted by the heat of the climate, very noisome vapours. The country, to the south and east, is hilly, with some wood, but no great quantity of fruit. Having thus taken a slight survey of the north side of the Isthmus, let us proceed to the south.

The Point Garachina is pretty high, and forms the west side of the mouth of the river Sambo; but that part toward the river is low, swampy, and over run with mangrove.

The mouth of the Sambo opens to the north, and from thence the coast trends away in a north-east direction to the gulf of St. Michael, which is formed by the outlet of several rivers, the chief of which are the river Santa Maria, the river of Con-

go, and the Gold River, so called from the plenty of gold dust found therein, to gather which the Spaniards bring hither their negroes from Panama and Santa Maria; on the south side of which, at a good distance from the sea, stands a town of the same name. This was the first river we entered in the south seas when I went upon an expedition with captain Sharp. We took the town at that time, it being newly built by the Spaniards of Panama, and in it we found a good magazine of provision, and a garrison of two hundred Spanish soldiers. Indeed the fort was only secured by pallisadoes, and the town was not as yet walled. The land is low, woody, and unwholesome; the rivers are oozy, and the air is infected by the stench of the mud. However, the village of Schuchadero, which lies on the right side of the river, being on a high ground, and open to the refreshment of the sea breezes, is far from being unhealthy. Here is a fine rivulet of fresh water, a most valuable possession, as the rest of the rivers, even far up the country, are brakish and ill-tasted.

The mouth of the river Congo is muddy, and left bare at low water for a vast way; however, ships may pass over at high water, and when they are advanced within, they will find the road deepen sufficiently. There are many islands in this gulf, where the anchoring is good, tho' in oozy ground; they are full of mangroves, and afford good shelter to the shipping. There are many creeks and outlets here upon the coast, but no fresh water, at least I could find none in the dry season; in the wet, the declivities of the ground, and dropping of the trees, afford water enough. The town of Cheapo, which is small, and of no great consequence, stands at some distance from the sea, on the west side of the river Cheapo.



The ground hereabout is partly woodland partly savannah, the latter being variegated with delightful hillocks, intermixed with spots of wood; and near to this place the river takes its rise, and after a westward course, for the most part, falls into the North Sea. On the south side of it, near Panama, stands Vera Cruz, a village of inns and store-houses, from which, merchandize, plate excepted, that being carried all the way by land, is sent down the river Chagre to Porto-bello.

The land farther west, between the river Cheapo and Panama is low, dry, and even, over-run with bushes, and sometimes covered with sea-water. Near this place stood the old city of Panama, which was burned by Sir Henry Morgan, about the time that the Spaniards were about to quit it, on account of its inconveniencies, having no good landing-place. There is nothing to be seen of it at present, but a few scattering houses and heaps of ruins. The new town, which is built farther west, has a good harbour, and ships may ride safely in the road, under shelter of the three Perica islands, but they are not immediately under command of the town, there being a long bank between the town and the road. Panama appears very beautiful at sea, the walls of the houses being of white stone, covered with pan-tiles, a commodity much used all over the Spanish West Indies; it has no fortifications, but is enclosed in a strong wall, especially towards the sea, which sometimes damages it considerably: it is surrounded by hills, savannahs, copses, and farm-houses for the cattle, which are horses, mules, and oxen, and taken all together, from a distance, forms a very beautiful landscape.

It is the chief town for business and trade on the South Sea coast, being the receptacle of the wealth of Lima and other Peruvian ports, keeping up a commercial correspondence with Mexico.

**Nico.** The king of Spain keeps a president here, who acts in concert with the council, and to whom the governor of Porto-bello is subservient, as indeed is the whole country as far as Guatemala. Panama, when compared to Porto-bello, is a very healthy town, and yet it is sickly enough, as is usually experienced by those who come from the purer climates of Lima and Traxilloas, they being generally forced to cut off their hair, which soon grows too heavy for the head.

The Rio Grande, lying about a league to the west of Panama, is a rapid stream, unfit for shipping, its mouth being very shoal. On its western banks are good plantations of sugar; and here, as the shore begins to trend away to the southward, I shall halt in my descriptive progress. The shore between Point Garachina and the Rio Grande extending to Punta Mala makes a semicircular bay, known by the name of the Bay of Panama; in it are some fine islands, as Perica, Pacheque, Chepelio, King's Island, &c. These are not only plentiful in the produce of wood, water, fruit, fowls, hogs, &c. but afford also an excellent harbour for shipping; and, upon the whole, it is a most delightful bay.

The soil of the inland country, consisting of a black fine mould, is extremely fertile. From the gulf of St. Michael, to the hills of Caret Bay, it is well watered and pleasant; but there is no travelling upon the shore near the gulf, as the ground is broken and swampy. West of the river Congo, till you pass the river Cheapo, the land is rich, interspersed with pleasant high lands, but afterwards it is one continued wood. The ridge is extremely fertile, being covered even to the top with trees, and if one may be allowed to judge of the climate from accurate observation, there is nothing that  
grows

grows in Jamaica but what would here thrive wonderfully; for the soil is extremely luxuriant.

The woods on the sea coast are almost impenetrable, the trees are so interwoven; but, more in land, they form rather groves regularly planned, free from underwood and brambles; so that a horseman may gallop among them a vast way over a beautiful lawn, with a canopy of verdure above his head, nor yet meet the slightest obstruction or inconvenience. The weather in this latitude is much the same as in most other places of the torrid zone, but rather inclining to be very wet. The rainy seasons begin in April and May, and continue very violent during June, July, and August, the weather being most of that time glowing hot; and as the cooling breezes are wanting, the air is so sultry, that if the sun chances to break thro' a cloud, it is almost intolerable: they begin to abate in September, but it is sometimes January before they are quite gone.

They commence with a sudden shower in a day, like our April or thunder showers; then follow perhaps two or three in a day, afterwards there falls one every hour; then they perhaps continue for the whole day, accompanied with violent thunder and lightning, and the air impregnated with a faint sulphureous smell, which is still worse, pent up among the woods. It may perhaps rain incessantly for four or six weeks without any thunder or lightning, and then sometimes there succeeds a week of fair weather, with now and then a tornado, which brings with it a refreshing air, but then the dropping of the trees is as troublesome as the rain.

There is generally a most harsh concert of the hissing of serpents, the croaking of toads, and humming of gnats, &c. after every heavy shower. Tho' this country is not pestered with gnats and musketos, as other warm countries, yet in the swampy

swampy grounds, and among the moist groves they are very troublesome. The rains make a hollow rattling sound in the woods, and the torrents pouring from the high lands, as I have before remarked in describing my own adventures, tear up vast trees by the roots, and force them forward with the current. By these means a river is often barricadoed or blocked up, until another flood, in a more even direction, drives down and sets the impediments afloat. Sometimes the floods will spread themselves over the neighbouring grounds, and give the low lands the appearance of a lake, or of a broad sea. The coolest time in this quarter of the world is about Christmas, when the fair weather is coming on, and the clouds beginning to break, give a free course to the air, to refresh the weary inhabitants with the breeze.

#### CH A P. IV.

*Of the shrubs, fruits, and various kinds of trees found on the Isthmus, and the very particular manner of the inhabitants smoking tobacco.*

**A**MONG the variety of fruits and trees that this climate produces, are many absolutely unknown to Europe. Of some few of the most curious we shall take notice, beginning with the cotton-tree, which is not only the largest, but the most common tree upon the Isthmus. It bears a cod about the bigness of a nutmeg, wherein is contained a sort of short wool or down, which, when ripe, bursts out, and is scattered by the wind. The timber of this tree, which the Indians burn hollow, but the Spaniards form with chizzels and other instruments, is particularly used in building canoes, and

small vessels for the water; when new it is easily worked upon, being as soft as a willow.

On the north part of the sea-coast are plenty of the most stately cedars, which, tho' one of the most fragrant woods, as well as the most beautiful grained in the world, is used in canoes and other coarse business. I do not remember that I ever saw either the cotton-tree or the maccaw on any of the islands.

The maccaw-tree is a species of palm, growing in moist grounds, and rising straight up to about the height of ten feet, bearing neither leaf nor branch but near the top, where the branches shoot out to the length of twelve or fourteen feet, being in the thickest part a foot and an half wide, and lessening gradually till it diminishes to a point. The body is furrounded, at certain distances, with protuberant rings, and those thick set with long prickles; the middle of the tree is a pith like elder, engrossing half the diameter of the body; the broad end of the leaf, which is jagged about the edges, and as thick as one's hand, is thick-set with prickles: on the top, amidst the roots of these leaves, grow the fruit in clusters, of perhaps scores together, each as large as a middle-sized pear, the figure of it being oval, and the colour, when ripe, a yellow or bright red; it has a harsh tart taste, but is extremely pleasant; the outside is stringy and slimy, and there is a stone in the middle. The Indians cut them down if they cannot readily reach the fruit otherwise; the wood is heavy, hard, and black, splitting very easily; it is made use of in building for planks and rafters.

The bibby is a straight slender tree, scarce thicker than a reasonable thigh, which grows to the height of sixty or seventy feet; the branches sprout out near the top, and round the root of each branch grow the berries like a garland: the wood is close-grained



grained and black; and within the tree is a narrow pith; the Indians tap it when young, and the bibby distils thro' the bore, being a tartish wheyish liquor that is pleasant enough, and fit to drink in a day or two. The berries are about the bigness of a nutmeg, of a wheyish colour, and very oily; they are pounded, strained, and then boiled: the oil, which is very bitter, and used by the Indians to mix the colours wherewith they paint themselves, swims on the top, whence, as the liquor cools it may be skimmed off. The Indians do not cut, but burn the tree to come at the berry.

There is a tree grows on the Isthmus, bearing a fruit like a cherry, which is full of stones and never softens.

The plantain-tree is not the natural produce of the Isthmus, but the seed being washed down with the rains from the neighbouring countries, sows itself, and sprouts up by the water-side. Beneath the fruit, which is oblong, grow several leaves one under another, growing broader and broader as they descend, and at a distance they look like a plume of feathers; they make pleasant groves, if set to advantage, and the Indians, to get at the fruit, cut them down, which, as they are soft and pappy, may be done with one blow of an ax.

The bonanoe, a sort of plantain, the fruit of which is thick, sweet, and mealy, abounds also on the Isthmus.

In the islands are great quantities of mammeetrees, which grow very straight, to the height of sixty feet or more; the fruit, in the middle of which is a stone, is wholesome and delicious, generally something larger than a pound-pear.

There is a species of a mammee called mammeesappota, the fruit of which, when ripe, is beautifully coloured, and smaller, but firmer than the other sort.

Sapadilloes do not grow so high as the mammee : the fruit, which is coated like a russet-pippen, but of a smaller size, is very pleasant ; they are plentiful in all the islands, and are found also on the continent, where abounds the most delicious fruit in the world, I mean the pine-apple.

It is like an artich oak, and as big as a man's head ; it grows like a crown, on the top of a stock as thick as a man's arm, and a foot and an half high ; the fruit is surrounded with short prickly leaves, and commonly weighs about six pounds ; the fruit is very juicy, and some people imagine the taste to be an assemblage of all the finest fruits in the world : the leaves are to be pared from the fruit, which has neither stone nor kernel ; the leaves of the plant grow from the root, and are about a foot long.

The prickly-pear is a fair fruit, much eaten by the Indians ; it grows on a prickly plant four feet high.

Few fences can be better than the pope's head, which is a plant growing like a mole-hill, and full of thick, sharp, hard spurs, with black points, of about a span long, which gall extremely the legs and feet of any one that chances to be entangled amongst it.

The Indians make no other use of the sugar-cane found here, than to suck out the juice.

In the islands are found a fruit called the machinel-apple, of a very fine colour and a most fragrant smell, but of a nature so malignant, that whoever chances to taste of it is poisoned, without an immediate antidote is administered. The trees are low, large-bodied, and full of leaves ; the grain of the wood is very fine, delicately grained, and used in carved work : we had an instance of its virulence in the rain-water which distilled from it, upon the head and breast of one of our company who happened to repose in its shade, raising blisters every where that it touched ; indeed he was so affected that

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his life was saved with difficulty, and he carried the marks of it, like the scars of the small-pox, to his grave.

This part of the world produces two sorts of maho, the one being as large as ash, the other smaller, and the latter grows by the river side, in moist swampy places; the bark is ragged, and will rip off in strings to the very top, these strings being, tho' slender, very strong, so that cable-ropes and rigging for vessels are made of them, and they are formed into threads for fishing-nets and other uses, by twisting them between the knee and the palm of the hand.

The calabash is a shell-fruit, of a globular form, very hard, and containing two, three, four or five quarts: of these there are two sorts, the one being sweet, the other bitter; the substance of both is spongy and juicy; I cannot say that they are very delicious, but the Indians use them frequently on a march, sucking the juice and spitting out the rest. The bitter sort is medicinal, and a specific in tertians, a decoction of them administered by way of clyster is admirable in the dry gripes. The shells are made use of as drinking-vessels, being almost as hard as the coco-shell, but not quite so thick. The Darien calabash is, when painted, greatly valued by the Spaniards.

Gourds are of two species; the sweet, which is not over pleasant, and the bitter, which is medicinal in the passio-iliaca, tertians, costiveness, &c. administered by way of clyster; they creep along the ground, or wind round trees like the vine; the gourd-shells serve for pails or buckets.

Here is also found a kind of flagger called silk-grass, growing in moist places, under cover of hills; the leaves shoot out in a knobbed root, and are like a sword blade, being at the bottom thick as one's hand, and growing thinner gradually till it

terminates in a point: these leaves are jagged at the edges like a reap-hook or saw, and sometimes grow to the length of two yards: when they come to a proper growth the Indians cut them, dry them in the sun, and then beat them into fine flax, of which they make ropes for the hammocks, all sorts of fishing-nets, &c. it is certainly stronger than any of our hempen or flaxen threads, and the shoemakers in Jamaica use it for their ends; the Spanish women make stockings of it, which are sold very dear; and the women in the West Indian plantations weave a yellowish lace out of it, which they are very proud of.

The light-wood tree is about the size of an elm, with a leaf like that of the walnut; it is straight and well-bodied; the grain of it resembles that of the cotton-tree, being of a whitish colour; its substance resembling cork, tho' I know not whether it be so spongy or not; of it are made good tompons for the muzzles of guns, and it is so light that a man may carry a large quantity of it on his back at a time. On a rafter made of three or four logs of it, four feet long, and not thicker than a man's thigh, two or three men have been known to venture to sea; these rafts are made, by first binding with maho cords several of the logs collaterally, across which are laid other logs, at some distance from each other, and these are pegged down to the former with strong maccaw pegs, which in this spongy wood takes a surprising strong hold; on these rafts, which resemble the dyers floats upon the Thames at London, the Indians cross large rivers, and go out to fish.

The whitewood-tree is like the willow, it grows one or two and twenty feet high, and the trunk is but slender; the leaf resembles that of senna; it is the whitest, finest grained wood I ever saw, being also very hard and ponderous.

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They do not take any care of their tamarind-trees, which are large and umbrageous; they generally thrive in a sandy soil near a river: the fruit is good, but of a brown sort.

The locust-tree, a species of tamarind, but of the wild sort, abounds here; as does the bastard cinnamon, which has a short thick cod like that of a bean.

Of the bamboe-cane, which grow like briars in copses, twenty or thirty of them well guarded by prickles, sprout from one root; they rise near the river, and the avenues which they fill become thereby impassable; few of them are found in the islands, but on the isthmus they are plentiful enough.

The hollow bamboe will hold sometimes a gallon, sometimes more; they are found only on the continent, rising twenty or thirty feet high, and a foot and an half in circumference; they have knots all down them, at the distance of about half a yard; the leaves, shaped like those of the elder, cluster at the top of each cane.

The mangrove-tree consists of several thin stems shooting from different roots, that rise a foot or more above the water, and uniting one with another they form a pretty lusty tree. Where these trees are thick they over-run the ground, in such a manner, that there is no passing on the bank of the salt water. Mangrove is redish, and used in tanning leather. I have some reason to think that the Peruvian or Jesuit's bark is the product of a sort of mangrove.

Bell and bird-pepper, each growing on a shrub of about three feet high, the latter having a smaller leaf, and being in most esteem, are the spontaneous products of the soil; as is also the red-wood, a slender tree of thirty or forty feet high, with a notched bark; the grain is of a bright red cast,



and gives a most beautiful red stain to cottons, which no washing can ever remove.

The Indians here know also the use of yams and potatoes; the latter they roast, of the former they have two sorts, the white and purple.

Cassava, a root something like parsnip also thrives well here; the sweet sort they roast and eat, of the other, having pressed out the juice, which is rank poison, they make bread something like our oat-bread, by grating it to powder, and strewing it over a hot baking stone, on which it becomes a cake that is crisp, white, and very agreeable when dried. This sort of bread is not peculiar to the Isthmus; it is used also in Jamaica, and in all the Indian colonies.

They have here plenty of tobacco, but as they are strangers to the manner of manuring the plant, it is not quite so strong as that of Virginia; they lay several leaves, having stripped and cured them, one upon another, and then roll them up sideways, leaving the center hollow; and by rolling leaf upon leaf, they extend it to the length of two or three feet, the roll being extremely hard: their way of smoking it is extremely particular; a boy having lighted one end of it, blows the smoke with the breath of his mouth thro' the whole length of the roll into the faces of all the company, which offering they receive, sitting on forms, in the hollow of their hands, inhaling it with vast eagerness, and seeming to be in raptures at so agreeable a refreshment. They are perfumed in this manner, when in council, and there are perhaps two or three hundred persons present.

## CHAP. V.

*Of the several sorts of four-footed beasts, reptiles, insects, &c. peculiar to this climate.*

**T**HERE is no great variety of beasts peculiar to the Isthmus of America: but as the soil is rich and fertile, I am persuaded, that were it well cleared from wood, it would afford fine pasturage for black cattle, swine, and such other useful animals as are found in Europe, and usually brought thence into these climates, where they are especially esteemed

There is here a beast of a black colour, with short legs, but extremely swift, called the pecary; it resembles the Virginia-hog, and has the navel not on the belly but on the back, whence if it be not cut in a couple of hours after the beast is killed, it communicates to it a most unsavoury taint: when this is done, the flesh, which is nourishing and well-tasted, will keep fresh, for many days. The Indians, when they have a mind to preserve it longer, barbicue it in the following manner: they plant four stakes in the ground, eight or nine feet from each other, laying others a-cross, parallel to and about a foot from the ground; upon these are laid pieces of the beast, and underneath a hot charcoal fire, which is kept in for three, four, or five days, the meat being continually turned till it becomes as dry as a chip, or as smoked beef. Thus they manage abroad not only the pecary, but many sorts of birds, the warree, &c. with this difference, that they flea the latter; if there be much, the women assist the men in carrying it home. From the meat thus preserved they cut bits for use, and when the stock is out go a hunting for more.

There is a necessity for some cookery of this sort, in which I should have observed they use a sprinkling of salt, because the country is so very moist.

The pecaries go in droves of one or two hundred together, and the Indians bring them down either with dogs or arrows; but they find it a difficult task on account of their swiftness. I myself have hunted a whole day with Lacenta, without being able to catch more than two pecaries, tho' we have started near a thousand, nay more.

The warree is another kind of hog, with little ears, huge tusks, and long bristles covering the whole body; it fights with every creature that comes in its way, but seems to have a peculiar enmity to the pecary. They are good food, and the Indians hunt and barbicue them.

It is a little remarkable, that tho' they have plenty of red deer, they never hunt them, and seemed not well satisfied that our men should kill and eat them, refusing, with great indications of displeasure, to partake of the meal; yet they pick up the horns that are found shed in the woods, and hang them up by way of ornament in their houses.

Here is a race of small ill-shaped dogs, with rough straggling hair like our mongrels, but they only start game, or by barking keep it at bay till the hunters come up, for they never run any down; large strong dogs would be valuable presents here; but then there would be great danger of their growing wild in such an uncultivated country. Here are no hares, but a few rabbits, very near as large as hares, with little short ears, long claws, and no tails; the English call them Indian conies; they are a pleasant juicy meat, and do not burrow deep in the ground, but lodge in the roots of trees. The woods are full of various sorts of middle-sized monkeys, which are excellent food; most of them are black, and have beards: but there are others

others white and beardless. In the dry seasons the fruit makes them pure and fat; but the Indians never ate of them till they saw us do it. In the rainy seasons they have large worms in their bowels, some of them six or seven feet long; they are a very waggish sort of monkey, skipping from bough to bough, with their young at their back, chattering, making faces at us, and waiting a fair opportunity to piss upon us as we passed near them. When the trees between which they chuse to pass are too far from one another, they lay hold of each other's tail, and forming a link, swing down, when the lowermost catching hold of the bough, climbs nimbly up, and draws the rest, who take care of their grasp, after him.

Here are neither bullocks, sheep, cows, asses, goats nor horses; and as they have no cats, a present of some good mousers would be highly rated, for they are over-run with grey rats and mice: and when we proposed some reward to two of the natives who had cruised with, and been of service to us for some time, he begged a cat, which he had seen us apply to catch these vermin; and his request was no sooner granted, than he hurried off his consort to the canoe, without staying for any other gratification, and they hastily paddled off, with strong marks of being infinitely rejoiced at the acquisition.

I know they have snakes, but I did not much notice their species; their spiders are not poisonous, but very large: and having picked the lice out of their heads with their fingers, they eat them.

The soldier-insect swarms in the Sanballoe islands; it is a species of the snail, having a shell, out of which you see the head and about one third of his body, of the colour of a boiled shrimp; it has several small claws, and two large ones, like a crab: the tail part, within the shell, when roasted, is as

delicious as any marrow; the fore-part is bony and useless; they feed under the trees upon what drops from them, and if they chance to have lately preyed upon the manchineel-apple, they are so infectious, that they almost poison those who eat them: accidents of this nature have disordered many of my ship-mates, but I always made some shift to recover them. I have found an oil extracted from this insect, excellent against sprains or contusions; it is of a yellowish colour like wax, and as thick as palm-oil.

These islands produce also a few land-crabs, a reptile common among the Caribbee islands; and in Anguilla I have seen some as large as the biggest sea-crab: they are good meat, and are best when caught after a shower of rain; for then they leave their holes, in which they burrough like rabbits, and go in search of food: the inhabitants, when they catch them, put them into a potatoe inclosure, where they leave them for two or three days to fatten, and they are said to thrive on such food extremely well.

I do not remember to have seen either alligators or guanos, which are a smaller sort of alligator, on the Isthmus; but there are plenty of green and red speckled lizzards of about a span long, which are innocent familiar creatures, and permitted by the Indians to run about their houses unmolested.

## CHAP. VI.

*Of the birds, and other winged species known upon the Isthmus.*

**T**HERE is a long, large-bodied, stately bird common to the woods here, called by the Indians chicaly-chicaly; its note is sharp like that of the cuckoo, but much quicker, and its plumage contains



contains the finest red, blue, and other lively colours that can be imagined; of the feathers of the back the Indians sometimes make a sort of apron: the flesh is well-tasted, but blackish. This bird feeds on fruit, flies from tree to tree, and rarely lights on the ground.

The quam is a well-tasted bird that keeps mostly among the branches; his wings are of a dun colour, but his tail is short, stumpy, upright, and dark.

There is a russet-coloured bird, that seldom or never flies, shaped something like a partridge, with longer legs and neck, but a short tail.

The corrosou is a large heavy bird, living among the fruit-trees, and having a coarse, but delightful note, which the Indians imitate, and by practising it discover their haunts: the cock is blacker than the hen, and has on his head a crown of yellow feathers, which he moves at pleasure; his gills are like those of a turkey. The Indians either bury the bones of this bird, or throw them into the river, lest the dogs should eat them, in which animal, they say, they produce frenzy: the English in the West Indies have the same notion.

Here is also a great variety of beautiful parrots, which are good food, and do not differ much from the generality of those found in Jamaica.

The paraquitoses, which are most of them green, do not mix with the parrots, but fly in flocks by themselves.

The most beautiful bird I ever saw in my life is the macaw-bird; its feathers are an assemblage of the most delightful colours that can be conceived; its tail is bushy, with two or three red or blue feathers much longer than the rest: the pinions of the wings are in some all red, and in others all blue, and the rest yellow; its bill is like a hawk, and its shape very like that of a parrot, but it is twice

as large; they have naturally a hoarse deep note, but are excellent mimicks, and may be easily taught exactly to imitate a human voice: the Indians keep them as we do parrots and magpies, tame about the house, and when they are a little used to the family, and can chatter a few words, they let them fly among the wild ones to the woods, some of which they often decoy with them home, whither they constantly return with the evening, and give notice of their arrival by fluttering about, and chattering in such a manner, that they have often given me high entertainment: the flesh is black, but good eating.

There is a woodpecker here, with a long slender bill, and strong claws, wherewith it can climb a tree, sticking very fast to it; it is coloured like our magpies, but more neatly, and is a smaller bird; they yield an earthy unpleasant savour; however, I have eat them with satisfaction when I could get nothing else: the Indians will not touch them.

They have a large and a small sort of poultry about the house; among the former are our common dunghill, the cottle-crowned, and the gamecock and hen, tho' the people here take no delight in cock-fighting. The latter have bushy tails and feathered legs; the tips of their wings are generally black, and they are very stately: they all crow on the approach of day, as our poultry do; they keep close about the house, and do not range far into the woods; they are pretty fat and well-tasted, for the Indians give them store of maiz, on which they thrive extremely. This species of poultry has within these few years become common in England, where it multiplies fast, and is known by the name of the Guinea cock and hen. They are certainly a neat bird, and more handsome than any of the sort natural to these islands.

There are many different sorts of the sea-fowls,  
not

not only among the Sanballoe islands, but all along the north coast; whereas on the south side, and in the bay of Panama, they are not so plenty: perhaps this quarter doth not afford them so much fish as the other.

The pelican is a large bird, short legged like a goose, with a great beak, and a long neck, which it carries upright like a swan; it is web-footed, and its feathers are of a dark grey colour: under the throat hangs a membrane which the seamen dry for a tobacco pouch, as it will hold near a pound, and in this the fowl lays up provision, which it takes out as it grows hungry. The young ones are said to be good meat, and they feed on nothing but fish.

The cormorants of the Samballoe are shaped like ducks, and not much larger; their flesh is coarse and rank; they are black, with a white spot on the breast; they are also web-footed like other water-fowls, and pitch on shrubs and trees near the water side.

The sea-gulls and sea-pies are but indifferent fishy-tasted food; to correct which, they are buried guts and feathers and all for eight or ten hours in the sand, after which interment they prove much more agreeable, tho' rather smaller than ours.

There are bats on the Isthmus as large as pigeons, with very long wings; the extremities of which are armed with claws that assist them in clinging to any thing in their way; they haunt old houses and deserted plantations.

Among their flying insects are gnats, muskittoes, wasps, beetles, and various sorts of flies, the most remarkable of which are the shining-flies, which are of the nature of the glow-worm, and scattered among the thickets, appear like sparks of fire.

They have two sorts of bees, the one short, thick, and of a red colour; and the other long, slender,

slender, and black: they nest on the tops or in the hollow of trees. The Indians thrust in their arms and bring out the combs, during which action they are never once stung, tho' the bees perhaps cover them from the shoulder to the finger-ends, and I myself have often had them on my naked body, without feeling the least smart; from whence I am inclined to think they have no stings. The Indians drink the honey and water mixed, but of the wax they make no use; for instead of candles they have a light gummy sort of wood.

They have both flying and creeping ants, which sting and are very troublesome, especially when they make their way into houses, which they often do. There is no lying down to rest any where near the hillocks that they raise; for they climb up the trees and get into the hammocks that are slung among them.

## CH A P. VII.

### *Of the fish found upon this coast.*

**A**MONG the many kinds of fish found in the North Sea, I shall mention some few that fell under my notice, during my residence on that coast.

The tarpoon is large, firm, and flaky: ten of us dined heartily upon one that we caught near Carthagena, which yielded us besides a good quantity of oil: this fish commonly weighs above sixty pounds.

Sharks are not so common here as in other parts of the West Indies; but there is a smaller fish something like it, called the dog-fish, which is a well-flavoured food; its mouth is longer and narrower than that of the shark, and it has but one row of teeth.

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The cavalle is found among the Sanballoes; it is about the bigness of a mackarell, but clean, slender, and long: it is a lively fish, with a bright large eye; it is good meat, moist, and well-tasted.

The old-wife is a flat fish that tastes well.

The paracood is a round slender fish, longer than the pike, deemed very wholesome; there is a species of this fish caught off some particular banks, so very poisonous that people die of having eaten them, and none escape without losing their hair and nails; this effect, I suppose, arises from some particular kind of food that falls in their way. I have been told by several persons, that taking the back-bone powdered, has been found a certain antidote against its effects, but that after taking it there remains a numbness and weakness in the limbs for a short while.

The poisonous paracood, some people will pretend to distinguish from the wholesome paracood, by tasting its liver, and if it be well-flavoured they dress and eat the flesh without any fear; but if the liver be bitter, and bite the tongue like pepper, they throw the fish away, concluding it unfit for food.

There is a sort of fish found on the coast, called the gar-fish by the English sailors; some of them are two feet long; they have a long bone on the snout, of about one third of the length of the body, which is very sharp at the end: they glide on the surface of the water as swift as a swallow, leaping out of the water thirty or forty times together. I have been told, that they move with such force that they will run their snout thro' the side of a canoe, and it is dangerous for a man to meet them, lest they strike him thro'. The back-bone looks bluish, of the colour of a sapphir; the flesh is very good.

The suilpin is about a foot long, with a long prickly skin, which is stripped off before they are dressed,



dressed, and then they prove good meat. The Sanballoes abound with shell-fish, particularly the couch, which is large and winding like the shell of a snail; the mouth of it is flat and very wide, in proportion to the bigness of the shell; the outside of it is coarse and rough, but the inside bright like mother-of-pearl: the fish itself is slimy and sandy, therefore there is a necessity for scouring it clean before it is dressed for eating; besides which, being very tough, it must be beaten before it is used to make it tender.

Periwinkles and limpits stick to the rocks, and are good eating, more especially the latter.

The Isthmus has no lobsters nor oysters, and but a few crabs; and there is a craw-fish found among the Sanballoes, as large as the lobster, but without the great claw: these are delicious meat, but the crabs are not near so good.

I am not well acquainted with their river-fishes, of which there are many different sorts, one being like our roach, but black and bony; they are about a foot long, very sweet, firm, and well-tasted.

There is another fish like the paracood, but smaller and better tasted.

There is also a fish about eight or ten inches long, shaped like our pike; the mouth of it is like a rabbit's; his teeth a little way within; its lips are cartilaginous, and it is a very good fish. These are all the river-fish that fell under my inspection; wherefore I shall proceed to the methods, according to which the Indians, who are very expert therein, catch their fish.

In the mouths of the rivers, and on the sea coast, where there are no rocks, they use a sort of dragnets, made of maho-bark or of silk-grass; but in the hilly country, where the streams are clear, and the banks perhaps too rocky to admit the use of nets, without spoiling them, they walk along the  
side

side of the river, on which they have their eyes narrowly fixed, and when they perceive any fish they instantly leap into the water, and wade or swim after it, turning as it turns, until the fish flies for shelter to the brakes under the bank, which is very common, whither the Indians follow, and take them out with their hands. By night they go often fishing in this manner with light-wood torches. Having gutted and cleaned their fish, they either boil it in water, or barbicue it as they do the peccary. They do not salt their fish for keeping, but generally boil with it abundance of pepper, as indeed they do with every thing else. Their way of making salt is to boil a large quantity of sea-water in an earthen pot till the fluid entirely evaporates, and the salt remains in a cake at the bottom: of this they are very careful, as the process whereby they obtain it is tedious and troublesome.

#### C H A P. VIII.

*The inhabitants of the Isthmus described: an account of the moon-eyed or white people of the Isthmus: of their customs, manners, and ornaments.*

**T**HERE are inhabitants scattered all over the Isthmus; those on the south side near Peru are not so civil and familiar as the people of the north side, where they are most numerous. The men are straight-limbed, big-boned, full-breasted, handsomely shaped, and near six feet high: I never saw one crooked or deformed person among them; they are active, and run very swiftly.

The women have brisk eyes; they are short, plump, and well-shaped, but not so full of spirits as the men. Both men and women are handsomely featured; their eyes are commonly grey and lively,  
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with high foreheads, good teeth, mouths indifferently sized; and their nose, which is the worst part of their face, is short and snubbed: they pride themselves vastly in long hair, and it is black, lank, and strong, hanging lower than the middle of their backs; the women tie theirs close to the head with a string, from whence it flows down. They have combs of maccaw-wood, being ten or twelve small sticks, each tapering to a point, of the length of five or six inches, and joined together by the middle; with these they keep their hair from entangling, but they louse themselves with their fingers. They pluck all their hair from their eyelids, eye-brows, and beards, the women being the operators, with two little sticks: however, upon some great occasions, such as having killed an enemy, but particularly a Spaniard, the person who has done it cuts off all his hair, that being a mark of triumph: he also paints himself black, and retains that colour till the first new moon after commission of the fact.

Their natural complexion being orange, tawny, or copper colour, they use no art, either with their eye-brows, which are naturally like jet, or their hair, except that they smear the latter with oil, to make it shine; nor do they confine their unction to the hair of their head, but rub themselves all over, whether to give the skin a smoothness, to supple it, or to prevent it from parching under the heat of the climate, I cannot determine.

There is a species of people scattered up and down the Isthmus, perhaps not more than three hundred in all, which differs entirely from the common inhabitants, and the truth of what I assert respecting them can be attested by any persons who have been acquainted with this part of the world; they are white, but their whiteness is like that of a horse, quite different from the fair or the pale European,

as they have not the least tincture of a blush in their faces. What adds to the whiteness of their skin is a short milk-white down covering their whole body, but not so thick on the forehead and cheeks as to conceal the skin; and it is my opinion that they would have white bristles for beards, if, like the rest of the people of the Isthmus, they did not keep the chin continually pulled: however, they never trouble themselves with suppressing the down on their bodies. Their eye-brows are milk-white, as is the hair of their head, being very fine, inclining to a curl, and growing but six or eight inches long; their eye-lids are oblong, forming a crescent with the points downward.

They seldom go abroad in the day-time, the sun being disagreeable to them, causing their eyes, which are weak and poring, to water, if it shines towards them; yet they see very well by moon-light, for which reason we call them moon-eyed; and, tho' they are heavy, dull, and inactive all day, at night they skip about the woods with great sprightliness and activity: they are but short lived, and less in stature than the other Indians, who seem not to pay them much respect, but to look on them as somewhat monstrous; they are not a distinct race of themselves, but the casual offspring of copper coloured parents; nor can it be said that they are the product of an European copulating with an Indian, because the Europeans that come here are very few, and these few have scarcely any commerce with the Indian women; besides, they are in some respects as different from the Europeans, as in others from the Indians: moreover, the child of an European and an Indian is always a mottled or tawny, &c.

For the generation of their colour, I confess myself unable to account, but Lacenta supposed it to be caused by the force of the mother's imagination employed during conception, in contemplating

ing the moon. They paint their bodies like the other Indians; nay, even those of the sucking children, with forms of trees, birds, beasts, &c. their face particularly cuts a droll figure thus ornamented: the women are the painters, and take great delight in the work; the colours by them principally esteemed are red, blue, yellow, &c. they mix them with oil, and keep them for use in calabashes; they generally lay them on the surface of the skin with wooden pencils, chewed at the end to the softness of brushes, and they will last some weeks. It was in this manner they painted me: they also draw upon the skin the rough draught of what they intend to paint, and then prick the draught all over with a sharp thorn till the blood gushes out, when with their hand they rub in the intended colour, and by these means it becomes almost indelible.

Of the truth of this assertion, I was convinced, by endeavouring, at his own desire to erase from the cheek of one of these people, a figure that displeased him; but I could not do it effectually, tho' I scarified him, and even cut off some of the skin.

When they go to war, they paint their faces red, and all the rest of their body with black and yellow spots, or such other colours as they like best; and these they wash off in the river every night before they sleep. They seldom wear cloaths, tho' if they can procure gaudy coloured gowns they prize them extremely. The women have only a piece of cotton cloth hanging down to their ancles, tied about their middle with a kind of pack-thread; and the men cover no part but the privities, which they conceal under a plantain leaf, or a piece of gold or silver, if they are worth it, formed like the extinguisher of a candle; they tie it very hard upon the penis, and fasten it to their waists with a string. They are in general a cleanly modest people, and even the men turn away from one another, when they



they are about to make water ; for which purpose they slip off their funnel, and as nimbly restore it when they have done.

They have no sense of shame with respect to shewing the fundament, which they leave quite exposed ; but both sexes ease themselves in the river. They have however long fringed garments reaching down to their heels, which they wear upon solemn occasions ; such as attending upon their chief, going to a wedding, or any other especial festival ; I saw between two or three thousand of them once in waiting about the person of Lacenta ; some in black, who preceded, and some in white who followed him, each having a lance coloured like his garment.

They do not march to the place of rendezvous thus equipped, but are followed thither by women who carry their ornaments in a basket ; and they dress upon the spot. Yet they seem fond of clothing, for I remember that one of them assumed a great air of grandeur, upon putting on an old shirt that had been given him by one of the ship's company. The men wear upon the nose a crescent of gold, silver, or other metal, which reaches over the lips, the extremities being fastened to the nostrils ; and the women instead of plates wear rings, run quite thro' the nostril, which is thereby often drawn down to the lip, especially in elderly women ; these ornaments are generally removed while they are eating, and afterwards restored to their place, being first scoured bright ; tho' they sometimes barely raise them with the left hand, while they put the meat or drink to their mouth with the right ; and tho' these plates and rings hang bobbing upon their lips, they are not much impediment to their speaking.

I don't remember that during the whole time of my residing here, I ever once saw a left handed person.

person. The principal people wear large gold pendants, shaped like hearts, with the point downward in the ear; which often, by the weight of them, is worn into a very great hole.

I once saw Lacenta sit in council with a golden diadem on his head lined with network, the breadth of which as near as I could judge, was nine inches; the top of it being indented like the teeth of a saw. And most of his counsellors had bands round their forehead, of canes differently painted and shaped like his diadem, the tops of them being set round with very beautiful feathers; but none of them had their headpieces of gold, except Lacenta; who moreover had no feather in his.

They wear, besides these ornaments, bracelets of teeth, shells, or beads hanging from the neck down upon the breast; or to the pit of the stomach. The strings of these bracelets are so contrived, that the teeth of the uppermost fall into the notches made by those directly underneath; so that they look like one continued mass of bone. These bracelets are said to be composed of tyger's teeth, and tho' I never saw any myself upon the continent, several of our shipmates have, so I have no reason to doubt their existence either here or in the bay of Campechy, where they are said to be small but very fierce. Among these teeth they find room to intersperse bugles, or whatever other gewgaws fall in their way: and very often these bracelets will weigh thirty pound weight upon the women, and double that quantity on the men.

In short, she is thought a poor woman that has not more than fifteen or twenty pound; however, they only wear them on occasions of state or solemnity, when they will dance under these burthens till they are no longer able to stand. They always lay them aside at meals, or when they go to war or hunt.

## CHAP. IX.

*Of their buildings and plantations : their liquors how made : their weddings and manner of educating their children.*

THEIR houses are of mud and wood, the foundation not sinking more than two or three feet into the ground ; and the tops of them which slope, being covered with large palm and other leaves. They are commonly run up near a river side, in a scattering manner, without any disposition of streets or rows, but within call of each other ; certain districts having each a common warehouse : nor do they change their situation, till the soil, which they never manure, is worn out ; or till the Spaniards attempt to fall foul of them. Chimneys they have none, but a hole is made in the roof of the house, thro' which the fire kindled in the midst of it emits the smoke.

There is no division of rooms, but every member of the family has his hammock tied up, and hanging from end to end : their seats are blocks of wood, and they have neither doors, shelves, nor tables. Their war-houses are about one hundred and twenty or one hundred and thirty feet long ; the walls raised generally to the height of twenty feet, including ridge and all. In the sides or at the ends, are holes made at random, thro' which they annoy their enemies, on their first approach, with shooting arrows. These houses are always seated on the edge of a gentle hill, and the shrubs, trees, and underwood, cleared away round it, to the space of a bow-shot. They have a door at each end made of maccaw wood, and bamboes bound together

with switches, being about a foot thick; and this barricado, supported by posts fixed in the ground, they oppose against an enemy. However, these are holds whence the Spaniards easily drive them, by firing red hot arrows into the thatch, whereby all is set in a flame; there is generally a family of Indians inhabiting each of these houses, to keep them clean, and in them they hold their public assemblies.

They set maiz round every house, by making a hole in the ground with their fingers, throwing in two or three grains, and then covering it with earth. The time of sowing is in April, and of reaping in September and October. They pluck off the ears of the maiz with their hands, and lay it up in husks in their houses, rubbing it thence with the hand instead of threshing it; they don't make bread of flour, which is ground, from the grain when parched, between two stones, but mix it in a calabash with water, which we were often obliged to, subsist on in our travels, there being several places where we could get no better provision.

They also, for the celebration of a wedding, or any other great festival, steep twenty or thirty bushels of maiz in a vessel of water, which in a short time begins to grow sour; then several old women having gotten calabashes for that purpose, chew grains of maiz in their mouths, which they spit into these calabashes, and empty them, spittle and all into the sour water, having first drawn it off the maiz that was first steeped in it, whereby it is set working; when the working abates, they pour it off the sediment, and set it by for use; it is very windy and intoxicating, it drinks like four small beer, and they toss off large quantities of it, being very careful of wasting it, for their common drink is water from the next river, or mislaw,  
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which is extracted from the ripe plantain, either when it is fresh, or when dry : in the former case, they roast it with the skin on, and then mash it till it is dissolved ; then mixing it with water, drink it as they want it : in the latter, they make a cake of the pulp of the ripe plantain, which they dry over a slow fire ; for if the whole fruit was laid by, it would soon rot ; and as they stand in need of it, they break off a bit and mash it with water, carrying some plantain thus dried every journey with them : they eat the plantain boiled with their meat, as we do bread, also yams, potatoes, and the cassava root roasted, for all these as well as pine apples, of which they are very fond, grow in their plantations ; wherein I don't recollect I ever saw any kind of fallading or herbs, except you'll reckon pepper among the former.

The men clear the plantations by cutting down the trees, and having let them lie three or four years on the ground to dry and wither, they set fire to them and burn them, together with the stumps and underwood all round ; this is all the trouble the men take with their plantations ; the women dig, plant, and pluck the maiz, set yams, potatoes, &c. and in short, perform every sort of servile work that does not require any great exertion of strength ; they have also the care of domestic affairs, as washing, cooking, &c. besides attending their husbands abroad, as servants.

Yet, tho' the women are very great slaves, they go about every thing with such readiness, that their labour seems the entire effect of choice and not of compulsion. And to do them justice, they are kind, pitiful, and tender-hearted, being very ready to assist strangers with every thing in their power, as well as loving and respectful to their husbands, who in return never treat them with the least roughness, nor do they at any time quarrel



with, or use them ill, whether drunk or sober ; and in all the time of my acquaintance with the Indians, I never knew one man beat his wife, or give her any abusive language. About half an hour after a woman in childbed is delivered, another woman takes her and the infant upon her back, and washes them in the river. Then the child is kept for a month tied by the back upon a straight piece of maccaw wood, which is taken off when it is to be cleaned, and when the mother gives it suck, she takes up board and all ; when it has done, she lays it in a little hammock, the upper part of which is kept open with short sticks, to give it air : the boys are bred up to shoot with arrows and pitch the lance, and are so expert in their exercises, that I have seen a boy of eight years old split a cane, with his arrow, at the distance of twenty paces several times successively, and never once miss. The girls and other children remain at home with the old women, when the parents go out to hunt ; but when the boys come to be ten or twelve years old, and are able to carry a calabash and some provision, they go abroad too upon the chase.

The parents are very kind to their children, allowing them to dispose of themselves just as they think fit ; their usual diversions being swimming and catching fish. The girls twist cotton yarn for fringes, and make ready the canes, reeds, and palmeto leaves, for basket-making, which is the work of the men, and in which they are very curious ; first dying the materials of many beautiful lively colours, and then weaving them so very close, that they will hold liquor ; and as they make them of all sizes, they use them as often for drinking-cups as for other uses ; for they are so very firm, that you may crush and throw them about, without doing them the slightest harm. When the young maids come to have their monthly courses, they  
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are not only veiled with a cotton veil, but shut from the sight of all men, even their own fathers; this confinement does not indeed last long, for they are soon at liberty to go abroad again.

No females upon earth can be more modest, for they will lay hold of any part of a man in such a manner, as plainly shews them extremely innocent and free from impure thoughts. They have a plurality of wives; Lacenta had seven, and matters were so contrived when he went a hunting, that he always found one of them ready to receive him at the end of every stage.

Stealing and adultery are here punished with death, except the woman swears she was forced to be false; if otherwise, she is burned.

The manner of punishing him who deflowers a virgin is very severe, for a briar being thrust into his penis, is there turned round ten or twelve times, so that if the part don't immediately mortify, it is a wonder; however, he has liberty to cure himself if he can. All these facts must be proved by the witness swearing by his own tooth.

A new-married bride spends the first seven nights with her father, or the next male relation, in a private apartment, after which restriction, she is delivered to her husband; and it seems to be meant to shew that her friends are unwilling to part with her. When a man is about to dispose of his daughter in marriage, he invites all his acquaintances for twenty miles round, providing a great feast to entertain them; the men that attend his invitation bring their axes to work with, and each of the women has about a half bushel of maiz; the boys bring fruit and roots, and the girls eggs and fowls; each of these lays his or her burthen at the door, and till the guests are all arrived, retire to some distance; in the mean time, the host disposes of the gifts as he thinks proper, then the

men visitors return first, and each is presented by the host with a calabash of strong liquor; after which, he is sent thro' a house to an area behind it; then follow the women, each being received in the same manner; lastly come the girls and boys, who all drink at the door, and then follow their parents.

After this reception, the fathers of the bride and bridegroom appear to the company, each leading his respective child; the father of the latter makes a speech, and then having danced himself almost dead, in which he is accompanied by the other, he gives his son to the bride, whose father kneels and holds her; and the young couple having joined hands, the bridegroom is returned to her parent, and the ceremony concludes. The men then run with their axes, hollowing and hooping to an adjacent tract of land, which they clear from the wood, continuing perhaps at that work for six or seven days; and as they clear the ground, the women plant it with maiz, or whatever else is in season. This first step being taken, they join to build a house for the new-married couple; who enter it on the eighth day; and then the company give themselves up to feasting, eating heartily, and drinking hard. However, before they begin to grow riotous, which they are very apt to do, the bridegroom hides all their arms; and thus they continue together, some drinking, some drunk, some sleeping, and some chattering, until the liquor, which lasts perhaps four or five days, is quite exhausted; after which consumption, they sit to recover of the intoxication, and return very soberly home: they drink to one another at meals, paying a certain compliment, and reach the cup to him whom they have drank to; the women, to whom they never drink, stand by, and attend them, and when the cup is empty, take it to fill again,

again, after rinsing it; when the feast, or indeed the meal is over, the wives retire to eat and drink by themselves.

## CHAP. X.

*Of their domestic employments; their hunting matches: provisions and kind of living.*

THE domestic occupations of the men, who seem naturally inclined to indolence, is to make lances, baskets, cups, arrows, and arrow-heads; or else they are employed in notching a hollow cane, in which, by blowing strongly, they produce a kind of whining noise, without any melody; they are fond of drumming upon any thing that falls in their way; and it is very rare that you won't at one time or other find every individual of a distinct company humming to himself.

At other times, thirty or forty of them will dance together, forming a ring, and shaking all the joints of their body in a very antic manner; while one or perhaps two or three divided from the ring, jump about and play such tricks as our tumblers; throwing and catching their lance, bending backward to the ground, and springing forward again, in all which exercises they display more activity than art or order; their dancing bouts commonly succeed a short drinking match; and last five or six hours; when they chuse to give over, they leap into the river, tho' in the most violent sweat; and having washed themselves clean, come out, and stroke the wet with their hands from their bodies and head; the women never share in their pastimes, but when they have their dancing and fuddling bouts, for they will get tipsy too, among themselves; but the men never go to dance when they have drank very hard.

When the husband is quite drunk, two or three women assist the wife in laying him in his hammock, where they wash his hands, feet, and face, very gently, to cool his body, sprinkle it with water, which they wipe off, as it begins to grow warm, and throw on fresh;—I have seen a dozen of them stretched out and attended in this manner after a merry meeting.

The men never go out of doors, tho' it be but to make water, without being armed with a bow, arrow, lance, hatchet, or long knife. In times of peace, they are always hunting a family or two together, but they have often large hunts, in which twenty or thirty families join; there being seldom a solemn council or feast held without concluding in a match of this sort, every member being summoned at a certain time specified, to attend with proper necessaries at a particular place of rendezvous. They will continue on these excursions perhaps seventeen or eighteen days together, just as they find game, and sometimes they proceed to the borders of their own country, and traffic with their neighbours, hunting all the way and at all seasons, the venison being alike to them at all times; the women attend to carry burthens and do any little necessary office in all these expeditions, having with them baskets of parched maiz, plantain, bananoes, yams, potatoes, and cassava roots, ready roasted, lest they should not meet with any in the woods; tho' there is scarcely any fear of missing it.

They are all barefooted, and mind not the scratches they are exposed to as they pass along; they never hunt before sun-rise, and always pitch their tents at sun-set, if possible on an elevated ground, in the neighbourhood of a brook or river. They suspend their hammocks among the boughs, near a good fire, and cover themselves with a plantain leaf,



leaf, as shelter against the severity of the weather. They cut their game, or in lieu of it, their barbecued flesh, into small bits, and throw it into a pipkin, with plantains, bananoes, and a great deal of pepper, keeping it simmering for seven or eight hours over a gentle fire, till it is boiled to a mash; of this they make but one meal a day, for the remaining part feeding on the plantains or bananoes; they pour their mash into a large earthen dish or calabash, and putting it on a large block, over which they spread a plantain leaf instead of a table cloth, sit round it on little blocks of wood; they are strangers to the use of spoons, but dip the fingers of the right hand, for they never use the left, into the dish; and grasping as much as they can, put it into their mouths, between every mouthful wetting their hand, in a bowl of water that lies near them, whether for cooling or cleanliness, I can't determine; but they eat their meat piping hot, as well as strongly peppered; taking every now and then two or three grains of salt by way of relish.

In their travels they are guided either by the course of the sun, notching the trees as they pass to find where the bark is thickest, that being always to the southward; or making some particular spot their beacon, to which they take the shortest road thro' the woods, which over-run the country; which as they pass, they clear with their axes. If a river impedes their progress, men, women, and children, plunge in and swim over it; but when there is a necessity for their coasting down the stream, they either use a canoe, or a bark made of light wood. They compute their æras by the moon, being strangers to every other planetary revolution; and I remember to have heard Lacenta, when speaking of the havock made

in this part of the world by the Spaniards, observe that it was many moons since.

They have no notion of dividing the day into hours, &c. but if they have a mind you should be informed that a thing happened so many nights since, they express their meaning by leaning their hand on their head as if asleep; repeating the action as often as they would enumerate nights. And thus by allusive motions, they explain themselves where their language is not understood. They reckon from units to tens and scores, but beyond a hundred they can't go; for a number above it, they hold up a lock of hair, sorting it gradually with their fingers and shaking it; but to signify an innumerable number, they shake all the hair on one side of the head. I remember that some one of them having a mind to know how many men captain Sharp had with him, when he marched three hundred and thirty-six men, of which I was one, across the country, sat down in a place where he could view every man as he passed by; for each of whom he threw a grain of maiz, out of an heap that stood by him into a basket; and being put out by one of our men, who overturned his basket, he removed to another spot, where he renewed and completed his work; but the great difficulty remaining was, to count the number of grains, at which enumeration, exceeding probably their arithmetical terms, some of the graver and more thinking part having laboured for some days, not without many warm debates, the consultation was at last ended by one of them starting up, who by shaking a lock of hair, shewed the number of captain Sharp's men to be great and unknown.

They reckon by one, two and three, up to ten, which in their language is called anivego, at which number they clap their hands together, and for every number after ten they strike the fingers of

the left hand one by one with the fore-finger of the right, expressing the quantity by repeating it thus, ten and one, ten and two, &c. till they come to twenty, when they clap their hands twice together; at thirty, which they call twenty and ten, they do it thrice; and at forty four times, and so on to a hundred, which seems to be the ne plus ultra of their best arithmeticians. Having thus given the best account of the Indians of the Isthmus, that observation furnished me with; I shall now proceed to relate my voyage in the Batchelor's Delight, captain Davis commander, from Realeja on the Mexican coast, to the southward; as some incidents thereof may prove entertaining as well as useful.

## C H A P. XI.

*Mr. Wafer's voyage along the coast of Peru and Chili.*

AUGUST the 27th 1685, we left Realeja, with three other vessels in company, but the men growing very sick soon after we were out at sea, a spotted fever having crept in among them, we put into the gulph of Amapalla; and built tents ashore on a small island, for those who were disordered. Provisions beginning, after some delay here, to run short, we went over to a beef estation on the continent, to supply our necessities; in our way thither, it being about three miles from our landing-place, in crossing an open savannah, we were forced to wade thro' a hot river issuing from under an hill, that had no appearance of a volcano; it was clear and shallow, and under the hill there arose steams, as if from a boiling pot, which wetted my hair; several of our men, who

were tainted with the itch, were cured by this accidental bath, and they attributed their recovery to the sulphureous particles wherewith the water was impregnated.

In this place was great plenty of wolves, so very bold that they were near pulling the flesh out of our hands; we kept them off as well as we could, but did not dare to fire at them, lest the noise should have brought down more to their assistance; which might have been dangerous as we straggled about.

Our men being pretty well recovered, we stood away to the southward, and came to anchor off the island of Cocos, in latitude five degrees fifteen minutes; this is a small, pleasant island, abounding with very fine coco-nuts, particularly in the valley where we landed, the soil being rich and fruitful: here are many springs of clear water, but the best are on the top of a delightful hill that rises in the middle of the island, where nature has provided a large basin as a reservoir for them; over the verge of which, the water swelling gently, trickles down in several mazy little streams, forming, as it flows, cataracts and arches; and this, added to the fragrance of the trees, the flowery verdure of the island, the distant view of the sea, and the sweetness of the refreshment, rarely to be found in so hot a climate, contribute to make it one of the most delightful spots in the universe.

Here we stocked ourselves with water and coco's, the milk of the latter being very good. Before we left this charming place, off which our ship rode very safely, some of our men determined to drink a bellyful of coco-milk, which they accordingly did; and tho' none of them were drunk in consequence of their feasting thus, yet they were so chilled, and their nerves in such a manner relaxed, that they could neither go nor stand; so that such of their mess mates as had not shared in their frolic, were

were obliged to carry them on board, and it was four or five days before they recovered.

From hence we departed, keeping still a southward course to the Gallapagos islands, on one of which there is but one place to water at; here we found a very large land-tortoise of the hecarée sort; it used to drink where we watered, but never ventured to wet itself. In this island we careened; and the birds, among which were many fine turtle-doves, were so familiar with us on our first coming, that they perched upon our heads and arms; however, they shortly after grew more shy, and what we used we were forced to shoot: guanos are plentiful here, and we found a low tree, thicker than a pear tree, of a very fragrant smell; from whence we extracted an odoriferous gum. While we lay among these islands, we took off one of them five hundred packs of flour, that we had formerly left behind us; a great deal of which had been devoured by the turtles.

From these islands we steered towards the coast of Peru, where we took the towns of Pisca and Guacha, not without some loss; we had several other skirmishes, in relating which, we shall not now detain you; captain Knight was along with us, and we were left at the island of Cocos, by the two other vessels that had accompanied us from Amapalla. This was in the year 1686.

While we lay by to clean in the island of Gorgonia, I observed a species of monkeys very fond of oysters, which at low water they brought off the banks; and laying them on a flat stone, beat them with another, till they broke the shell, and then they took out the meat and ate it.

At La Nasca, in latitude fifteen degrees south, there is a wine strong as Madeira, and of much the same flavour, brought hither down the country, in jars of eight or ten gallons a piece, and shipped



shipped for Lima, Panama, and other ports; it stands exposed to the open air, every man having his own mark on each parcel, and it will keep thus many years; we took in good store of it.

There is a large town, in south latitude twenty-nine degrees, which has nine churches, and is called Coquimbo. Here we landed in a deep bay sand, in a large bay, into which a small river discharged itself; the banks of which are spangled with gold, with the dust whereof our people, as they travelled along, were covered; but it was too fine to gather, being so intermixed with sand: the place to look for metal of sufficient weight to pay for searching after it, is near the heads of rivers among the hills, for there the weightier pieces of gold stick fast, while the finer and useless dust is washed off to the sea.

In the island of Juan Fernando, captain Knight left us, steering round Terra del Fuego, to the West-Indies; while we determined to coast back toward the line, having with us a bark which we took off Pisca. From Juan Fernando, in order to gain a wind, and have as much of the coast before us as we could, we stood over for thirty-nine degrees south latitude, and being in want of provision and water, came to anchor near the island of Mocha, about the middle of December 1686. Here we staid five or six days, and stocked ourselves with all necessary refreshments; the sea-coast of the island of Mocha, which island lies in thirty-eight degrees twenty minutes south, is low and sandy, but it is a fertile soil about the middle of the island, producing maiz, wheat, and variety of grain and fruit; here some of the Spanish Indians have little convenient dwelling-houses, and are well stored with poultry, horses, and sheep.

The latter is a very stately beast, about four feet and a half high; it has a small neck like a camel's,

mel's, and its ears are like those of an afs; he is full chested like an horse, with the loins of a well shaped greyhound, and the buttock of a full grown deer; it has cloven feet like a sheep, and in each foot a sharp claw like an eagle's, two inches above the division of the hoof, wherewith it climbs rocks, and grasps extremely fast; the wool on the belly grows twelve or fourteen inches long, but on the back it is shorter, shaggy, and curling; it is an innocent serviceable beast, of great use in all the Spanish settlements, but particularly in the gold mines, where loading, and leading them into a particular pass, they leave them, and they will find their way safely with their rich burthens, thro' roads and over precipices, that it is almost impossible for any living creature but themselves to traverse; their masters taking a large sweep to meet them. It is also said, that the inhabitants of a town where water is scarce, make two jars fast upon one of these beasts, and turn him loose without a driver, when he goes directly to a river at some miles distant, having been once shewn the way; and by plunging quite into the water, fills his jars and returns home with his acquisition. That they have an aversion to work after day-light, we found from experience, for no beating would prevail upon them to reassume it, or had any effect on them, but making them groan piteously.

Two of us, and those not the smallest sized among us, used to bridle one of these sheep, and mounting upon it, ride round the island, and drive the rest to the fold, going a hand gallop all the way; nor did it seem to like going an easier pace. We found in many places twisted horns, which we supposed had been shed by them, tho' we never saw any of them that were horned; they have heads like an antelope, and a mouth like a hare; the hair

lip opening above, as well as the main lip, when it bites the grass.

From Mocha we stood over to and sailed along the coast of Chili, till we came into south latitude twenty-six degrees; here our water growing scarce, we put our canoes ashore to search out the river Copayapo; and in hopes to be able to descry it, we climbed a very high hill, but from the top of it we had no consoling sights or prospect, except that of a craggy unpleasant hill rising above the one we had passed, and another after that; and here being quite faint for want of water, I swooned away, having no refreshment but my own urine: in our course over these barren mountains and craggy rocks, tho' there was not the least sign of water, we found plenty of fish shells, incorporated with the mass or strowing the ground; an appearance for which I could not possibly account.

We found it was in vain to look for the river Copayapo. We were told indeed by the Spaniards, that at a particular season, this river overflows its boundaries, being increased by the melted snows pouring down from the neighbouring mountains; it may possibly be as well from the rains falling on the mountains far within the land: for tho' it never rains on the coast of Chili or Peru, yet from the clouds that we have often seen hovering over the inland hills, we have some reason to think that in those spots it does rain sometimes; I remember at one time, when I could not see the top of Arica, for the vapour that enwrapped it; yet at other times, it was clear and visible: to compensate for their want of rain, they have very heavy dews, the effect of which on the soil is prodigious.

The coast of Copayapo is barren and desolate, as it is all along that of Peru and Chili, where nothing is to be seen but bare rocks, and a most uncomfortable.

uncomfortable tracts of desert land, void of the least verdure, without bird, beast, or inhabitant, except here and there a sorry port, where perhaps there were two or three houses; tho' scarce water enough, except at high water, to swim a cock-boat.

Missing water at Copayapo, we steered to Arica, a pretty town of Peru, well situated on the bending of the coast, in eighteen degrees odd minutes south latitude. The harbour here is tolerably good, and here the silver of Potosi is shipped for Panama; the sea runs so high, and dashes so violently all about the coast, except just at Arica, that there is no landing. This town, which we plundered, all the surgeons, except myself being killed in the attack, stands upon a small river, which was so brackish from the sea-water dashing into it, that we could make no use of it; here we got some sugar, wine, and a few hogs; in this place I saw a whole house filled with Jesuits bark: however, a little farther to the leeward, we watered at the river Ylo, which I remember at sometimes to be a good stream; and at other times almost quite dry. It flows thro' one of the pleasanter vales on the Peruvian coast, and the inhabitants introduce it, by little streams, thro' all their ground. The soil about it produces olives, sugar, figs, China oranges, and variety of other fruits; with a multitude of the most useful vegetables. This valley, as indeed are all those of Peru and Chili, is the more pleasant, from the rough, barren mountains that hang over them; which are generally a black or iron rock.

Nor was it for water only we were often in great distress while on this coast; food was sometimes as scarce and as valuable; and I remember once, some of us were so hungry, that we fed on raw crabs, and even sea-weeds; and having seen a lean horse  
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that was grazing near at hand, we made a fire of sea-weeds, whereon to roast the flesh; but were so impatient for food that we gobbled it up when scarce heated, and carried the guts carefully on board with us.

About thirty of our people, of which party I made one, having landed at Vermejo, in ten degrees south latitude, in search of water and refreshment, after having marched about four miles upon a light sandy soil, found dead bodies of men, women, and children, scattered for near half a mile together so thick upon the ground, that we could scarcely pass without treading upon them; to all appearance, they seemed as if not more than a week dead at most; but when handled, they were as light as a sponge and quite dry; we inquired the cause of this phenomenon from a Spanish Indian, who was ranging along the sea-side, searching for weed to dress his company's fish, for he belonged to a fishing-boat that lay near; and this man told us that this was formerly a verdant fertile soil; that hereabouts stood the city of Wormia, which was extremely rich and populous; and that when the Spaniards besieged the place, and it was evident that it could not hold out against them, the inhabitants unanimously chose to bury themselves alive, rather than be subservient to them; and that the dryness of the soil had preserved the bodies from mouldering; by the men lay their broken bows; and distaffs, with cotton-yarn and spinning-wheels lay by the remains of the deceased women.



## C H A P. XII.

*Mr. Wafer's voyages concluded.*

**I**N south latitude eight degrees forty minutes, stands a town called Santa, about three miles from the sea, the road to it lying over a small hill; on the inland side of which hill lay, when I was there, three ships of sixty or one hundred tons a piece; they seemed very ruinous; and we were informed by an Indian, whom we asked concerning them, that about nine years before they rode in the neighbouring bay, whence an earthquake removed the water quite out of sight for twenty-four hours; after which, it returned with prodigious increase and vast violence, bearing every thing before it; sweeping over the hill, whereon the town then stood, which it laid in ruins, and carrying the ships to the spot wherein I saw them. This story was confirmed to me by the parish priest, and many others of the most creditable inhabitants.

Having continued hovering about this coast, to little purpose, a long while, we returned to the Gallapagos, under the line; and resolving to make the best of our way out of these seas, bent our course for the southward, determining to touch nowhere till we came to the island of Juan Fernandez. As we kept on this course, we were, about four o'clock one morning, being then in south-latitude twelve degrees and thirty minutes, and about one hundred and fifty leagues from the main land of America, surprized with a most terrible shock; which made us give up all hopes of life, as we thought the vessel must have bulged against a hidden rock; the men were shaken by it out of  
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their hammocks, captain Davis was pitched out of his cabbin upon the floor; we heaved the lead as fast as possible, and were surprized to find no ground, and that the ship still kept under way.

These observations induced us to conclude it was the shock of an earthquake, and in this conjecture we were determined by the colour of the sea being changed from a green to a muddy white colour; and the water, which we took up in the bucket, being mixed with sand. We were afterwards informed, that, at the same time, there was an earthquake at Callao in the Lima-road, whereby the sea ebbed so far from the shore, as to disappear for some time, when it returned with great fierceness, and carrying all before it, even the ships out of the road, which were borne above a league up the country; overflowed the city of Callao, which stood upon a little hill, together with the fort; for sixty leagues along shore, did incredible mischief; reaching even to Lima, tho' six miles within land from Callao.

Having recovered of our fright we kept on our way, steering south and by east, till we arrived in latitude twenty-seven degrees and twenty minutes, when about two hours before day we were alarmed with a roaring noise like that of the sea breaking on the beach, right a-head of the ship; whereupon, fearing we should be ashore, the captain consented to back her courses till day-light; on the appearance of which we found ourselves off a low flat island, free from rocks; and about twelve leagues to the west a range of high lands, which from the partitions in the prospects we judged to be a cluster of islands. We would have gone ashore here, but the captain not permitting it, kept on his way to Juan Fernandez, where we arrived the latter end of the year 1687, and having cleaned our ship and quitted our bark, we steered for

Mocha.

Mocha, to take in sheep to serve us in our voyage round Terra del Fuego; but the Spaniards had been before hand with us, and carried away or destroyed the sheep, horses, and every other living creature on the island, as they had also done at Santa Maria; so that we were forced to subsist upon such provision as we brought with us from the Galapagos, consisting chiefly of flour, maiz, salted tortoise, and the fat of it, of which we had about sixty jars made into oil.

Three of our men having lost at play all they were worth, and being unwilling to return home as poor as they went, desired to be left behind at Juan Fernandez, in hope they might be able to find some privateer going upon an expedition of some consequence; their request was granted, and they were supplied with a small canoe, some axes, maiz, and other necessaries. They remained here about a year, when they were taken up by a privateer. During their stay upon the island they planted some maiz, which throve exceedingly well; and besides, having folds of goats which they tamed, they wanted neither for fish nor fowls; of the latter there is an amphibious sort, of a grey colour, not larger than a pullet, which feeds on fish, and burroughs under ground like a rabbit; it eats well after being buried for some hours.

Standing out to sea to double Terra del Fuego, we had a terrible storm for three weeks before we reached Cape Horn, being at that time in sixty-two degrees and forty-five minutes of south latitude, and we weathered it but indifferently, our seamen being none of the ablest.

Running hence to the northward, in order to get out of the South Sea, we fell in with several islands of ice, which at first we took for real land, and as we could find no bottom with the log-line, we inferred that they might be as deep in the wa-

ter as they rose above it, that being a considerable height; and I remember there was one near five hundred feet higher than the surface: these were phenomena that I missed when in these seas with captain Dampier; nor did captain Sharp in his return hence meet any of them. Some of them we could discern at good distance in the night; but others lay under water, so that we were not aware of them till we struck, which we did several times, whereby our vessel was severely shocked. During the three weeks that our vessel lay to the south of Cape Horn, the weather was so bad, and the sky so cloudy, that we could take no observation, nor count our latitude; however, we supposed ourselves in sixty-three degrees of south latitude, which is farther to the southward than any other body ever probably was. By keeping too much upon an east north-east course we were really above five hundred leagues off land, tho' according to our reckoning we were then not one hundred; wherefore we stood in for the land; but having run some hundreds of leagues to the westward, in the same latitude, and descrying no land, we began to be quite out of heart thro' fear of starving at sea, our stock of provision being almost quite exhausted: in this extremity we had some relief by a very plentiful shower of rain, the water of which we saved in casks.

We had now run four hundred and fifty leagues in this latitude, without meeting land, upon which many of the crew grew mutinous, and insisted we should change our course, which had been certainly agreed to, had not captain Davies and Mr. Knot, with great entreaty, prevailed on them to continue it only two days longer, promising to act as they pleased afterwards, if in that time they did not come up with some land: the ensuing day the wind being small, we had a flurry from the west, which threw on board of us some locusts and other in-

fects, a very certain sign of land. This was a providential accident; for had it not happened, the men would have been for changing the course, being thro' ignorance persuaded they were still in the South-Seas, and we should, in that case, have all inevitably perished.

However, we made to the point whence this windfall had come, and shortly came up with land a little to the northward of the mouth of the river Plate, where we immediately put ashore for provision. Here our men chancing to discover a herd of swine on a point of land, armed themselves with cutlasses and fuzees, and while some of them guarded the pass that led to the hills to stop their retreat, others advanced upon them, and the swine retired towards the sea, on the edge of which they stood, gazing upon, and, as it were, admiring them and their arms; but how miserably were the poor sailors disappointed, when coming up with brandished cutlafs to cut them down, they saw the whole herd leap into the sea and disappear!

These proved to be an amphibious animal, called sea-swine, their flesh tasting very like pork, but a little fishy; for, some time after, we chanced to shoot a couple and bring them on board: they are of a black colour, shaped like swine, with short bristly hair, and finny stumps wherewith to swim. The country hereabouts is uninhabited, tho' it is fertile and well-watered, abounding with black cattle, deer, and ostriches.

The ostrich is a bird which is said to lay its eggs in the sand, where they are hatched by the sun, and the young chicken provides for itself: it is a very stupid bird, and will follow the first thing it meets; we have eat many of them while young, but the old ones are very coarse food, and grow to a prodigious size; this bird is reported to feed on iron,



but without any truth ; it swallows iron as poultry do pebbles, not for food, but by way of digestion ; for it will eat up any thing that falls in its way, as old nails and rusty knives.

Putting off to sea again, we coasted along Brasil, and thence made for the Caribee islands ; where meeting with Mr. Edwin Carter, in a Barbadoes sloop, who informed us of king James's having published a proclamation, whereby he pardoned all buccaneers, I went aboard his ship, and sailed up the river De la War into Pensylvania, and so to the city of Philadelphia, where I arrived in May 1688.

Hence, after some stay, I fell down to Apokunnumy creek, with captain Davis and John Higginson, who was left with me on the Isthmus, where we brought our chests and other goods in carts over a small neck of land into Bohemia river, which leads down the great bay of Chisapeek, to Point Comfort, in James's River in Virginia. Here I intended to have settled, but my time of rest was not yet arrived ; for after residing in this place three years, I was obliged by some cross accidents to remove, and returned home to England in the year 1690.

the vessel was small, and the crew was not numerous. The vessel was built for the purpose of carrying a few passengers and a small amount of cargo. The vessel was built for the purpose of carrying a few passengers and a small amount of cargo.

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# A Plan of the Harbor of CARTHAGENA.



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An ACCOUNT of the EXPEDITION  
against CARTHAGENE, in the WEST  
INDIES, besieged by the ENGLISH in  
the Year 1741.

ENGLAND having declared war against Spain, in the year 1739, the government resolved to distress the enemy by attacking their possessions in the West Indies; and for that purpose a plan was proposed by colonel Spotswood, governor of Virginia: in consequence of which, he was impowered to raise a regiment of Americans, consisting of four battalions, to serve under his command against the Spaniards; but he dying before the scheme could be put in execution, this regiment was given to colonel Gooch, who succeeded him in the government of that colony.

The lieutenants were appointed in England, at the recommendation of the lord Cathcart, who commanded all the land forces on the intended expedition; and he chose for this service young gentlemen of family, chiefly North Britons, who had learned the rudiments of the military art in Holland and other foreign services, and consequently were the better qualified to discipline a new raised regiment. These had commissions signed by his majesty's own hand, but the captains and ensigns were appointed by the governors of the different provinces in which the companies were levied, according to a power vested in them by the king for that purpose.

While these officers were employed in raising and disciplining the companies in North America, six regiments of marines were levied in England, by means of draughts made from the foot-guards, the command of them bestowed upon gentlemen of character and capacity for military operations, and all possible pains taken to render them immediately fit for service in the West Indies, to which the seat of war was to be transferred. A squadron was equipped, and actually sailed under the auspices of commodore Anson for the South Seas, in order to harass the Spaniards on the coasts of Chili and Peru, and if possible to establish a correspondence across the Isthmus of Darien, with the fleet and army destined for Carthagena, so as to co-operate for the advantage of the nation.

The marine regiments being well disciplined, and having for some time encamped in the Isle of Wight, were embarked on board of eighty transports, with all sorts of warlike utensils that might be necessary in the expedition, and detachments from three old regiments were sent on board of the men of war appointed to join admiral Vernon on the same service. These were

| Ships.           | Guns. | Commanders.  |
|------------------|-------|--|
| The Ruffel,      | 80    | { Sir Chaloner Ogle, rear-admiral of the blue, captain Norris.                 |
| Torbay,          | 80    | { Captain Gascoyne, having on board lord Cathcart, general of the land-forces. |
| Cumberland,      | 80    | Captain Stuart.  |
| Boyne,           | 80    | Commodore Lestock.   |
| Princess Amelia, | 80    | Commod. Hemmington.  |
| Chichester,      | 80    | Captain Robert Trevor.   |
| Norfolk,         | 80    | Captain Graves.  |

The



| Ships.             | Guns. | Commanders.            |
|--------------------|-------|------------------------|
| The Shrewsbury,    | 80    | Captain Townshend.     |
| Princess Caroline, | 80    | Captain Griffin.       |
| Suffolk,           | 70    | Captain Davies.        |
| Buckingham,        | 70    | Captain Mitchel.       |
| Orford,            | 70    | Lord Augustus Fitzroy. |
| Prince Frederic,   | 70    | Lord Aubrey Beauclerc. |
| Prince of Orange,  | 70    | Captain Osborne.       |
| Lion,              | 60    | Captain Cotteril.      |
| Weymouth,          | 60    | Captain Knowles.       |
| Superb,            | 60    | Captain Harvey.        |
| Montague,          | 60    | Captain Chalmers.      |
| Deptford,          | 60    | Captain Mostyn.        |
| Jersey,            | 60    | Captain Lawrence.      |
| Augusta,           | 60    | Captain Dennison.      |
| Dunkirk,           | 60    | Captain Cooper.        |
| Rippon,            | 60    | Captain Joliff.        |
| York,              | 60    | Captain Coates.        |
| Litchfield,        | 50    | Captain Cleaveland.    |
| Ætna,              |       | } Fire-ships.          |
| Firebrand,         |       |                        |
| Phaeton,           |       |                        |
| Vesuvius,          |       |                        |
| Flame,             |       |                        |
| Vulcan,            |       |                        |

Two bomb-ketches, and hospital-ship, store-ships, &c.

This noble fleet sailed from St. Helens on Sunday, October the 26th, in the year 1740, with a fine breeze at east north-east, which continued till Friday the 31st, when the weather looked squally astern, and at night it blew a hard gale; and this, in the morning of Saturday, November the 1st, increased to a violent storm, which did abundance of damage in several ships, splitting sails, carrying away masts, and throwing every thing in confusion.

The author of this account, who was on board of one of the largest ships in the fleet, says he was waked early in the morning, by a dreadful concert produced from the clanking of chain-pumps, the creaking of gun-carriages, the cracking of cabins strained by the violent motion, the dashing of the sea, the howling of the wind, the rattling of the rigging, and the confused clamours of six hundred men running up and down the deck in confusion.

Nor was the eye more agreeably entertained than the ear: for, when he got up and mounted the accommodation-ladder, he found the prospect altogether dismal. Of all the fleet, seven sail only were to be seen, and of these, two had lost their masts, while the others scudded under reefed main-sails; the billows were incredibly vast and tremendous: there was nothing to be seen on board, but tumult, uproar, and dismay; the ship pitched with such violence, that the masts quivered like slender twigs; a cask of water broke from its lashings on deck, and maimed sixteen men before it could be staved; the main-sail was split into a thousand tatters, and the yard being manned to bend another in its room, one of the braces gave way with such a shock as threw four men overboard, two of whom were lost, while the knee of a fifth was crushed in a terrible manner between the beril and the mast.

Nevertheless, the wind being fair, they made shift to lie their course under a ballanced mizen, going at a great rate, and on Monday at noon, tho' the weather was still very boistrous, with rain and hail, forty sail of the fleet appeared in sight, and from this period assembled again gradually. On Saturday the 8th, the Orford gave chase to a vessel plying to the eastward, and brought her into the fleet under French colours. On Monday

day captain Lestock and captain Hemmington hoisted broad blue pendants as commodores; and on Wednesday, the line of battle was altered because the Cumberland was still missing, since the storm on the 1st of November. All Monday the 17th, it rained and blew very hard: next day, the weather being mild, all hands diverted themselves with striking dolphins, which are a beautiful species of fish, as they swim alongside, and when first caught, exhibit a charming variety of bright colours. They are in continual pursuit of the flying-fish, which is about the size and make of a herring, furnished with membranous fins, by means of which it rises above the surface, and flies a considerable space in order to avoid its persecutors.

On Wednesday the 19th, the wind proved contrary, tho' in those latitudes where it generally blows from the east during the whole year.

On Tuesday the 25th, a man belonging to the Chichester, jumped overboard and drowned himself in resentment for having undergone the shameful discipline of the ship for vermin. The weather growing sultry and calm, about this time, began to produce ardent fevers among the men, and in a few days the fleet became very sickly; but nothing material occurred.

Friday December the 19th, after having lain to several nights on the supposition of their being in the neighbourhood of land, they sailed along the coast of Martinique, Guadaloupe, and Mari-galante, islands possessed by the French, and came to anchor in the bay of Dominique, which is a neutral island, tho' some parts of it were settled by French adventurers. The very day after their arrival at this island, the expedition sustained an irreparable loss, by the death of Charles lord Cathcart, a nobleman of distinguished valour, capacity,

and experience in the military art, whose character was in all respects truly amiable, and whose fate was universally regretted; more especially as he was succeeded in command by brigadier-general Wentworth, an officer who had neither knowledge, weight, nor self-confidence sufficient to conduct an enterprize of such importance.

The fleet remained seven days at Dominique, for the convenience of wooding and watering, during which period, tents were pitched along shore for the accommodation of the sick; and those afflicted with the scurvy recovered in a surprizing manner, solely from their enjoying the land-air and plenty of fresh water; for, the island produced no other refreshments, altho' the soil is fertile, and naturally abounds with lime, lemon, and orange-trees; but, the bloom had been destroyed by a hurricane, and the few planters who were on the island, had removed their provisions and stock, for fear of being plundered by the English.

On Friday the 26th, the whole fleet sailed from Dominica, and next day passed by Montserrat and Nevis, which saluted the admiral with their cannon, and afforded a pleasant prospect of green, fruitful fields, level towards the shore, and swelling up into mountains farther in the country.

On Saturday they arrived at St. Christopher's, and anchored in Basse-Terre road, where they found his majesty's ship the *Leostoff* and a good number of vessels, which had parted from them in the storm and rendezvoused here, in pursuance of their instructions. Next day the admiral proceeded on his voyage with fair weather, sailing in sight of the verdant islands of Sabe, Santa-Cruz, Portorico, and Hispaniola, the fleet being by this time increased to one hundred and eighteen sail; till the afternoon of Wednesday January the 7th, when they descried five large ships towards the shore.

The

The admiral immediately made signal for the Orford, the Prince Frederic, the Weymouth, the Dunkirk, and the York, to give chase, while he and the fleet continued their course for Jamaica. They accordingly came up with the five ships, which were French men of war; and lord Augustus Fitzroy, who commanded the Orford, ordered their commodore to hoist out his boat and come aboard. This order the French captain refusing to obey, his lordship gave him a broadside, and a very obstinate engagement ensued. The two squadrons being equally matched, fought all night with equal courage, and in the morning, the English commodore seeing French colours displayed, hailed his antagonist, and pretended he had mistaken them for Spaniards; the battle was forthwith suspended, mutual compliments passed, and having treated each other with great marks of politeness, they parted with the loss of about an hundred men killed on each side, among whom was captain England of the marines, a worthy gentleman and a gallant officer.

Mean while, Sir Chaloner with the rest of the fleet, sailed along the coast of Jamaica, from whence a pilot came on board, and on Friday the 9th, conducted them safely into the harbour of Port-Royal, where they found admiral Vernon with his squadron; and the regiment of North Americans were by this time arrived and quartered ashore.

While measures were taking for embarking this corps, and supplying the ships with proper refreshments, provision, and other necessaries, a council of war was held at governor Trelawney's house in Spanish town, in which it was resolved that the whole fleet should beat up to windward, and observe the motions of the French squadron commanded by the marquis d'Antin, then lying



in the harbour of Port Louis, in the island of Hispaniola.

Accordingly, a body of negroes raised by the governor, being put on board, the fleet sailed from Port-Royal harbour in three divisions, the first of which, under the command of Sir Chalotier Ogle, weighed on the 22d day of January; the second commanded by commodore Lestock, sailed on the 26th; and admiral Vernon, with the third division, took his departure on the 31st, when the three squadrons joining, plyed to windward, and on the 7th of February, made Cape Tiberoon, where he was joined by the Wolf sloop, which he had previously detached for intelligence. Captain Dandridge the commander of this vessel, gave him to understand, that he had looked into Port Louis, and seen nineteen ships of war, one of which carried a flag at the main-top-mast head.

In consequence of this information, the fleet steered for the isle of Vache, and coming to anchor about two leagues to the westward of Port Louis, on the 12th, captain Laws of the Spence sloop was sent to reconnoitre the harbour, and pretty nearly confirmed the report of Dandridge.

Next day, admiral Vernon, accompanied by general Wentworth, went in a barge, and sounded the depth of water between the isle of Vache and Hispaniola; and on the 14th, Mr. Wentworth reconnoitred in person, from the Spence sloop, which had no sooner opened the harbour of Port Louis, than he plainly perceived that all the ships were merchantmen, mostly unrigged, except one frigate of forty guns; and that the supposed flag was no other than the white gable end of an house in a line with the main-top-mast of this vessel. As a French officer had come off with a message from the governor on the 14th, and was not admitted to the admiral, Mr. Vernon now sent captains Bos-

cawen

cawen and Knowles to make an apology for having declined seeing that gentleman ; to know what his proposals were, and to ask leave to wood and water in the bay. They returned with a polite answer, and brought an account of the marquis d' Antin's having sailed for Europe on the 26th day of January ; a circumstance which was confirmed by the arrival of captain Renton in the experiment, who had been cruizing some time off Hispaniola. February the 16th, it was resolved, in a general council of war, that the fleet should, with all expedition, wood and water in Iros, Tiberoon, and Donna Maria bays, and thence proceed directly to Carthagena.

During the seven days which were thus employed, detachments from the American regiment and the negroes were daily sent ashore to cut fascines and pickets, and the Weymouth, Experiment, and Spence sloop, under the command of captain Knowles, detached beforehand to sound Punta Canoa bay, about two leagues to the windward of Carthagena.

February the 26th, the whole fleet was under sail, to the number of one hundred and twenty-four, and in the evening of Wednesday March the 4th, anchored in Playa Grande, between the town of Carthagena and Point Canoa ; the small frigates and fireships were ordered to lie in a line along the shore, as if the design had been to carry on the operations to the windward of the town ; and this feint had such an effect upon the enemy, that they drew their forces from the remoter parts, and began to intrench themselves where they seemed mostly threatened by the danger. The Dunkirk, Experiment, and Spence sloop, were immediately dispatched to leeward to sound the coast of Tierra Bomba, as far as Boca-Chica, or entrance into the harbour, which was pitched upon as the first scene of action. March the 5th, a council of war

was held to settle the distribution of plunder, according to his majesty's instructions. Next day, the general went on board of the *Lyon* to reconnoitre the shore and forts on *Tierra Bomba*, when the swell was so great that she rolled away her main-mast, and was in the utmost danger of perishing. A disposition was immediately formed for landing the troops, and in the morning of the 9th, Sir Chaloner Ogle proceeded, with his division, to destroy the small forts of *St. Jago* and *St. Philip*, which might otherwise have annoyed the troops in landing, and hindered the fleet from anchoring near the shore.

This piece of service was very effectually performed by the *Norfolk*, captain *Graves*, the *Russel*, captain *Norris*, and the *Shrewsbury*, captain *Townshend*; for, after a brisk cannonading, the enemy were before the evening compelled to abandon the forts: nor was this success attained without some loss; for, the *Shrewsbury's* cable being cut by a shot, she fell to leeward before they could let go another anchor, and being exposed to the fire of *Boca-Chica* and a fascine battery, she received considerable damage in her hull and rigging, besides the loss of sixty men killed or wounded; whereas her two consorts did not lose above ten.

All obstruction being thus removed, lieutenant colonel *Cochrane* landed with the granadiers that same evening, and took possession of the forts: the bomb ketches began to play upon the castle of *Boca-Chica*; and next morning the granadiers were formed on the beach, to cover the landing of the rest of the army, which was effected without opposition; tho' the troops were obliged to lie that night upon their arms.

On the 11th, the negroes, tools, and tents being put ashore, the ground was cleared, the tents were pitched,

pitched, and the troops put under cover from the night dews, which are very dangerous in that climate. A coupure was made through the woods, to cut off the communication between the city and forts at the harbour's mouth, and another opening towards the fort of Boca Chica, which they intended to batter in breach from a fascine battery raised under the directions of Mr. Moor, the principal engineer, a man of capacity and experience. He, at the same time, planned out a mortar battery, defended from the enemy's fire by casks filled with sand, which began to play upon the castle on the 13th, in conjunction with the bomb-ketches.

As for the great gun battery, it could not be finished with such expedition; for, the workmen were not only galled by the shot of the enemy, who fired with great vigour, but so relaxed by the heat of the climate, that they could not bear much fatigue; and the negroes, upon whose labour there was great dependance, were so intimidated by the fire from Boca Chica, that they threw down their burthens and fled at the report of every gun.

For these reasons the engineer represented to the council of war, that the work could not be carried on in a proper manner, without a reinforcement of one thousand six hundred men added to the troops already landed; and as there was a number of soldiers still on board of the fleet, the general demanded this supply; which the admiral refused, on the supposition that such a reinforcement could not be necessary.

March the 17th, when the parapet of the battery was raised almost up to the embrasures, the land officers, in a council of war, agreed to solicit the assistance of the admiral in destroying a fascine battery on the other side of the harbour, called the Barradera, from which they had received considerable damage and interruption; and in compliance

pliance with this request, a detachment of three hundred sailors, supported by a body of the soldiers that still remained on board of the fleet, were conveyed thither at night in boats, under the command of captains Boscawen, Watson, Coats, Washington, Mr. Murray, and lieutenant Forrest, who attacked the battery with great valour, repulsed the enemy, and spiked up the cannon.

On the 19th, an epaulement was raised on the left of the great gun battery, to cover it from the fire of the enemy's ships of war which were moored between the forts of Boca Chica and St. Joseph, so as intirely to block up the entrance of the harbour; and that same day, the enemy were perceived at work in repairing the Barradera battery, which having been imperfectly demolished, was soon in a condition to renew its fire and annoy our troops; so that the admiral ordered a sixty gun ship to beat it down; but her efforts had little effect.

March the 22d, the battery being finished, began early in the morning to play upon the fort of Boca Chica,\* with four and twenty great guns and forty small mortars and cohorns, that fired alternately with good effect; and the enemy returned the fire with great vigour from the castle, the fascine battery on the Barradera side, and their shipping.

Next day, commodore Lestock, who lay with his squadron to the windward of the whole fleet, hoisted a broad red pendant, and weighed anchor in

\* The enemy having neglected to clear away the wood in the neighbourhood of Boca Chica, the English engineer took advantage of the omission, to screen the workmen who were employed in raising the battery; for, as the Spaniards did not see them, they could not properly direct their fire; and the battery being finished, the trees were immediately knocked down; so that it rose to the view, like the effects of magic.



the Boyne, and with the Princess Amelia, the Prince Frederic, Hampton Court, Suffolk, and Tilbury, went in to cannonade the forts of Boca Chica, St. Joseph, the Spanish men of war, and the Baradera battery. As the commodore sailed along the whole line of the fleet, all the ships were manned to do him honour, every vessel saluted him with three cheers as he passed, and all the music played Britons strike Home. This squadron having run in as near the forts as possible, each ship clapped a spring on her cable, and a terrible cannonading ensued; as the reader may easily conceive when he is informed, that above five hundred great guns, besides a great number of bombs and cohorns, were incessantly plyed during the best part of the day. In the evening, they were called off, after having sustained considerable loss, and next morning renewed their fire with fresh alacrity; tho' their shot did very little execution among the enemy, and had no effect at all on the face of the western bastion, which was battered in breach from the land battery. In this engagement, lord Aubrey Beaulerc, who commanded the Prince Frederic, lost his life, and was universally regretted: and Mr. Moor the chief engineer, was killed ashore on the battery, to the great prejudice of the expedition. In the evening, another detachment of sailors and soldiers, commanded by captain Watson, was transported in boats to the Barradera shore, and burned the battery without opposition, together with a sloop which lay on the other side of a neck of land, and supplied it with necessaries and ammunition.

Mean while the English battery fired night and day without intermission, till the 25th, when the breach being reported practicable by an engineer, who had been sent to reconnoitre, it was resolved in a council of war to make the attack that same evening;

evening; a disposition was instantly made and communicated to the admiral, who, in order to make a favourable diversion, agreed to send his boats well manned and armed, under the command of captain Knowles, to make an attempt upon Fort St. Joseph, and the Spanish ships, while the land forces should be employed in storming the breach of Boca-Chica. These precautions being taken, the troops advanced to the assault about five in the afternoon. A serjeant and twelve granadiers accompanied by thirty volunteers, composed the forlorn hope; these were followed by two hundred and sixty grenadiers, commanded by lieutenant colonel Macleod; then came colonel Daniel at the head of five hundred men, and some small parties carrying scaling-ladders, pick-axes, &c. to be used, if necessity should require. They again were sustained by five hundred men, under the command of lieutenant colonel Cochrane; and Mr. Blakeney, brigadier of the day, had the direction of the attack.

Three bombs fired from the battery, gave the signal for putting them in motion; upon which a volley of round shot was poured in upon the breach, and this succeeded by another of grape shot, which obliged the centinels upon the walls to put themselves under cover, and contributed to their not perceiving the troops when they first moved to the attack. But, before they reached the foot of the walls, they heard the Spanish drums beating to arms, the top of the breach was manned, and the enemy's ships, and Fort St. Joseph, began to fire with grape shot upon the assailants, tho' with very little effect: but, the commandant Don Blas, being on board of one of the ships, the garrison were struck with a panic, and fled with precipitation out of the gate as soon as the grenadiers began to mount the breach.

Immediately

Immediately after the troops had taken possession of the fort, the Africa and San Carlos, two of the Spanish men of war, were sunk by the enemy, the San Philip being set on fire, either by the red hot balls from the land battery, or by the Spaniards, which continued burning until the fire reached the magazine, and then blew up with a vast explosion.

During these transactions, the armed boats from the fleet, commanded by captain Knowles, rowed to the Barradera side, while the soldiers and sailors landing, attempted to surprize Fort St. Joseph; but being discovered, they found themselves so much exposed to the artillery of that fortification, that they were fain to retire under cover of the bushes, until it was evacuated by the enemy, who foresaw it would be impossible to maintain this post after Boca Chica was taken. In the mean time, the admiral sent orders to his detachment to attack it in their boats, and they accordingly entered it without opposition: then they boarded the Galicia, commanded by Don Blas, in which they found two officers and sixty men, who had not time to make their escape; and lastly demolished a strong boom fixed across the harbour's mouth, the end of which had been already cut down by a party of the land forces under the command of Mr. Blane, an engineer, and lieutenant Bennet, who was the first man that entered the breach. By this time, the English had made themselves masters of all the forts and defences at the harbour of Boca Chica, in which the enemy placed their chief confidence; and indeed we must own the success of this afternoon and evening were altogether extraordinary, if we consider the situation of the harbour's mouth, and the manner in which it had been fortified.

This place takes its name of Boca Chica or Narrow Mouth, from the narrowness of the channel,  
and

and lies in such a manner upon the coast, that the trade wind blowing from the east, never affords a favourable breeze which would enable a squadron of ships of war to enter by main force. At one side of this narrow channel, close to the shore, the Spaniards had erected the fort of Boca Chica, which was a regular quadrangle, with four bastions, and mounted with eighty-four great guns, besides a very large mortar and cohorns: on the other side stood Fort San Joseph, in a small island detached by a narrow gut from the continent of the Barradera, mounting thirty-six cannon, mostly level with the surface of the water; between these two castles, was fixed a very strong boom, consisting of cables, chains, and beams of wood, stretched across the harbour's mouth, and within this, four ships of war, mounting sixty-four guns each, were moored in a line to defend the passage; over and above these fortifications, we have already mentioned the fascine battery on the Barradera shore, which greatly galled the English in their approaches, and the small forts of San Philip and San Jago, which the ships demolished before the troops could be landed.

Immediately after the reduction of Boca Chica, measures were taken for reembarking the troops, artillery, and stores; commodore Lestock was appointed to remain with his squadron at the harbour's mouth, and the rest of the fleet entered the outward harbour, as soon as the channel could be cleared of the wrecks sunk there.

On Friday the 27th, the Griffin and Orford were ordered to advance and post themselves across the mouth of the inner harbour called Surgidero; while the Weymouth and Cruizer sloop were detached to the other side of the harbour, to demolish two small batteries on each side of the Passo-Cavallos or Horse-Ferry, a creek thro' which provisions

vifions were conveyed into the Laguna, and from thence to the city. This piece of fervice was performed without oppofition, under the direction of captain Knowles, who at the fame time took fome hulks and fmall craft that were ferviceable in watering the fleet, at a very convenient wharf which they found by the fide of an excellent fpring.

This was a very welcome difcovery to the people on board of the fleet, who had been hitherto reſtricted to a very ſcanty allowance of this element, namely a purfer's quart (about three half pints) per diem to every individual: in a climate where there is ſuch a continual expence of the animal fluid, that as many gallons might have been neceſſary to repair the waſte of four and twenty hours, in a hard working man, ſweating under the ſun, which was vertical, and fed with putrid beef, ruſty pork, and bread ſwariming with maggots. Nor could this reſtriction be owing to the fears of ſcarcity; for over and above all the water-caſks which were filled at Hiſpaniola, there was not an old empty pipe, puncheon, pork-tub, or beef-barrel that was not converted to this uſe; and in ſome ſhips, ſo little pains had been taken to cleanſe theſe veſſels, that the water was corrupted and ſtunk ſo abominably, that a man was fain to ſtop his noſe with one hand, while with the other, he conveyed the can to his head.

Nay, if every caſk of water had been ſtated overboard, it is well known that it might have been eaſily ſupplied by an expedient which is often practiſed, and was actually adopted by the troops on ſhore: I mean that of ſinking half-tubs bored, in the beach, which are filled with potable water ſtrained thro' the pores of the ſand.

With reſpect to the allowance of brandy granted to every individual, the admiral, in his great ſagacity,



city, ordered it to be mixed in a proportion of the water, without sweetning or fowering, so as to compose a most unpalatable drench, which no man could swallow without reluctance.

March the 30th, at a general council of war held on board of the admiral's ship, it was resolved that the soldiers, artillery, and stores should be landed with all expedition at a place called La Quinta, on the land-side of Carthagena, within the Surgidero, or inner mouth of the anchoring-place, which was defended by Castel Grande, a strong castle, on one side, and a small fort called Manzanillo, on the other, between which the enemy had sunk seven galleons and two large men of war, in order to block up the channel: at the same time, it was agreed that the army on shore should be reinforced by those detachments of the regiments which still remained on board of the ships of war.

The intention of this second landing, was to cut off all communication between the town and country, and besiege the fort of Lazar, which stood on the top of a hill, and commanded the city of Carthagena. Nor was it doubted that the admiral would cooperate with the army, by sending in some of his largest ships to batter the town.

Mean while, captain Knowles was ordered to bring his guns to bear upon Castel Grande, which, as well as the fort on the opposite side, was abandoned; so that he took immediate possession, and was appointed governor of the castle, which mounted sixty-four pieces of cannon. During these transactions, captain Renton of the Experiment, having reconnoitred the channel in which the galleons and men of war had been sunk, found the stern of the Conquistador still afloat; so that they found means to heave it round, and open

a passage into the Surgidero for two bomb-vessels, which being covered by as many twenty gun ships, began to play upon the town, tho' they were moored at too great a distance to do much execution: nevertheless, some shells took place, and even set some houses on fire, and the enemy seemed now to be in despair; for, they themselves burned a French ship of war lying at anchor near the walls of the town, which they could never imagine would fall into the hands of the English, unless they had thought themselves on the eve of surrendering the city.

The admiral and his squadron having come to anchor near Castel Grande, no time was lost in pursuing the design of the second landing at La Quinta: the transports with the troops, stores, and artillery, sailed up the harbour from Boca Chica, and a disposition being made for disembarking, on the morning of the fifth, the Weymouth, the Cruiser sloop, and two or three fire-ships, which had passed thro' the channel, were ordered to fire with grape shot all the preceding night, in order to scour the woods and shore adjoining to the landing-place.

April the 5th, the first division of the soldiers, amounting to one thousand four hundred men, commanded by brigadeer Blakeney, rendezvoused along-side of the Weymouth: at five in the morning, colonel Grant at the head of the grenadiers, landed without opposition, and being followed by the rest, formed the whole in order of battle, to march against the enemy. These being joined by two hundred Americans as pioneers, the negroes, and a party of matrosses, with eight pattereroes, began to move forwards into the wood, and having reached the end of the defilée, with the loss of one man killed by the fire of a straggling party,

party, they perceived the Spaniards, to the number of seven hundred, drawn up on the strand, in such a manner as to cover the road leading to the city. There they stood with a good countenance, seemingly determined to dispute the ground, from which the general ordered the grenadiers to dislodge them; but, as they were obliged to march thro' a narrow pass, bounded on the left by the lagoon, and on the right by a thick copse, a party of American soldiers were detached into this last, in order to fall upon the rear of any small parties which might have been posted among the bushes, to flank the English as they advanced.

The grenadiers marched up with great alacrity and very little loss, notwithstanding two fires from the enemy; then the front platoon poured in their fire at the distance of half a musket shot, and immediately wheeled to right and left as in street firing, to make room for the next to advance; a circumstance from which the Spaniards supposing the whole body gave way, they expressed their joy in a loud huzza: but, they were soon convinced of their mistake, by the close fire of the following platoons; in consequence of which, they soon fell into confusion and fled towards the city, whither it was not thought proper to pursue them, because this party was justly supposed to be no other than a decoy to draw the English into an ambuscade, or within cannon shot of the town and Fort Lazaro.

The proper guards being posted, and the troops put under cover in some houses and sheds adjoining to La Quinta, a party was detached to take possession of a convent situated on the top of a hill, called La Popa, where they found some prisoners and left an officer's guard; from hence the general, accompanied by brigadier Guise, next day reconnoitred

connoitred the city, and it was debated in a council of war, whether or not the fort should be attacked the following night, before the enemy should have finished some works upon the hill, on which they were seen employed with great diligence: but this attempt was postponed because no stores were as yet landed from the ordnance ships. That very evening however five pieces of cannon, with powder and ball, were put on shore, and a number of Americans and negroes being landed, with working-tools, they began to clear the ground for an encampment; tho' in the mean time the Europeans suffered severely from the excessive heat; so that the work was greatly retarded.

April 7, the council of war being reassembled, the report of the principal engineer considered, and the intelligence given by deserters taken into consideration, the members were unanimously of opinion, that the fort ought not to be attempted without having first raised a battery, the scheme of which the engineer was ordered to lay before the council with all possible expedition. Mean while this resolution was immediately communicated to the admiral, together with the opinion of the members, importing that the success of such an enterprise would be much facilitated by the admiral's giving directions to the bomb-ketches to play upon fort San Lazaro, which might also be battered by one of the large ships of war at that time lying altogether inactive.

The admiral treated the design of a battery with great contempt, alledging that cannon were not at all necessary for the taking of such a poultry fort, which would certainly be abandoned as soon as the English should appear in earnest to give the assault; but with respect to the bombarding and battering San Lazaro, he sent no determinate answer.

It is a melancholy truth, which however ought to be told, that a low, ridiculous, and pernicious jealousy subsisted between the land and sea-officers during this whole expedition; and that the chiefs of both were so weak or wicked as to take all opportunities of thwarting and manifesting their contempt for each other, at a time when the lives of so many brave fellow-subjects were at stake, and when the interest and honour of their country required the utmost zeal and unanimity. Instead of conferring personally, and co-operating with vigour and cordiality, they began to hold separate councils, draw up acrimonious remonstrances, and send irritating messages to each other; and while each of them piqued himself upon doing barely as much as would screen him from the censure of a court-martial, neither seemed displeased at the neglect of his colleague; but, on the contrary, both were in appearance glad of the miscarriage of the expedition, in hope of seeing one another stigmatized with infamy and disgrace. In a word, the admiral was a man of weak understanding, strong prejudices, boundless arrogance, and over-boiling passions; and the general, tho' he had some parts, was wholly defective in point of experience, confidence, and resolution.

The Spaniards, judging from the spirit with which the attacks had been hitherto carried on, that they could not be too alert in making preparations for the reception of such an enterprising enemy, employed all their endeavours and attention in strengthening the defences of San Lazaro, by mounting an extraordinary number of cannon upon the walls, and making new works upon the hill, in order to retard the operations of the siege: at the same time they brought some pieces of artillery to bear upon the English advanced guard and the general's



neral's quarters, which however received little damage.

By this time the rainy season had begun with such violence that it was hardly practicable to keep the field, for it poured down in a deluge incessantly from the rising to the setting of the sun; and then the lightning began to play in such continued flashing, that one might have read a small print all night long by the illumination. Such a change of the atmosphere is always attended with an epidemical distemper, in consequence of which the men dropped down so fast that there was scarce a sufficiency to relieve the proper guards of the camp, much less to cut down the wood and raise a battery so as to attack San Lazaro in form.

On these considerations it was resolved, in a council of war, to make an attempt for surprizing the fort; and scaling-ladders, and other implements for this purpose, were provided accordingly. A strange resolution! which seems to have been the result of a report made by some engineers, who having reconnoitred the place, affirmed that the walls were not high, nor secured by any ditch on the other side; but, that there was an ample road, of an easy ascent, leading up the hill, and a wooden door on the left, which might be forced without much difficulty. Tho' this representation, backed by a deserter who offered himself as a guide, might have had some weight with the general, his chief incitement to hazard the lives of so many brave Britons, in the execution of such a rash enterprize, seems to have been the importunity of the admiral, who, in repeated letters and taunting messages, vehemently pressed him to the attack, saying that it was scarce possible to miscarry. In all likelihood Mr. Wentworth was afraid it would be alledged, and possibly credited, at home, that the city must have been reduced had this experiment been tried.

Instead of sacrificing his own understanding, and his gallant soldiers to such an idle punctilio or suspicion, he ought to have acted up to the dictates of his own judgment, and proposed in his turn, that, as the land-army could not proceed in their operations with any prospect of success, the admiral should attack the town with his great ships, which lay inactive, tho' the men longed for such an opportunity to signalize their courage. A report indeed was industriously circulated, that there was not water sufficient for the ships to lie near enough to batter in breach; and that the admiral was laudably averse to hazard his majesty's ships upon an uncertainty. But it now plainly appears, from the attestation of the best pilots, and the soundings of the harbour, specified in the prefixed authentic charte, that four or five of the eighty gun ships might have been moored in a line close by the walls of Carthagene; and if this expedient had been practised, in all probability the town would have surrendered immediately; for it is well known that the inhabitants expected no other fate, and had by this time sent their wives and children, together with their most valuable effects, into the country. With respect to Mr. Vernon's being averse to risque his majesty's ships upon an uncertainty, I shall only observe, that this maxim, since adopted by other commanders, is a very ill-judged and suspicious tendernefs; inasmuch as his majesty's ships were made for service, and that they can hardly ever act at all, if they do not engage upon some sort of uncertainty. But to return to the land-forces.

A disposition being made for the attack of San Lazaro, and the necessary implements prepared; on the 8th of April the troops appointed for this service were ordered to parade at two next morning on the strand, where being formed, they advanced towards the fort, and a little before day-break began to  
mount

mount the hill, the grenadiers being commanded by colonel Grant, tho' brigadier Guise had the command of the attack. The division which was ordered to take the open accessible road upon the right of the fort, was, in the dark, by the mistake of the guide, conducted to the center, where the ascent is very steep, and the ground broken; yet, notwithstanding these obstructions, a number of the soldiers gained the top, and pushed on to the enemies entrenchments, where the greatest part of them was slaughtered, because they could not be immediately sustained by the rest of the platoons, which advanced but slowly with street-firing, on account of the unevenness of the ground. Colonel Grant mounted on the left with great gallantry, but received a mortal wound before any advantage could be taken of his success: at the same time the guide was killed, and the men dropped very fast; so that the officer next in command made no further progress, but remained on the side of the hill, exposed to a severe fire from the castle and the town, which did great execution.

Nor could the scaling-ladders, wool-packs, or hand-grenades be of any service in this emergency; for the Americans who carried them in the rear, seeing the troops falling by whole platoons, refused to advance with their burthens; but tho' they would not advance as pioneers, many of them took up the firelocks which they found on the field, and mixing among the troops, behaved very bravely.

It must be owned, for the honour of the army in general, that no officers or soldiers could act with more courage, alacrity, and perseverance, than that which was manifested on this unhappy occasion, altho' very few of them had ever seen the face of an enemy before this trial.

As soon as day-light enabled the general to view the posture of the troops, he sent to inform brigadier

dier Guise, that if he could push forward he should be sustained by five hundred men, who were ordered to advance accordingly ; but by this time the soldiers were disheartened, and the number of the enemy was every instant encreased by reinforcements of fresh men from the city, until they equalled, if not exceeded, the assailants, for whom they waited on the hill without flinching.

It was therefore found necessary to effect a retreat, which was secured by means of those five hundred men who brought up the rear ; but not before the loss of the English amounted to two hundred killed, and twice that number wounded, of which last the majority did not recover. Sixteen of these were taken prisoners by the Spaniards, who treated them with great humanity, and loudly extolled the valour of the assailants ; and a cessation of arms was immediately agreed upon for a few hours, during which time the dead were buried. Meanwhile a breast-work was raised at the advanced guard, to put the men under cover, and the intrenchment enlarged for the reception of two mortars, which in two days began to fire upon San Lazaro with good effect.

As for the sick and wounded, they were next day sent on board of the transports and vessels called hospital-ships, where they languished in want of every necessary comfort and accommodation. They were destitute of surgeons, nurses, cooks, and proper provision ; they were pent up between decks in small vessels, where they had not room to sit upright ; they wallowed in filth ; myriads of maggots were hatched in the putrefaction of their sores, which had no other dressing than that of being washed by themselves with their own allowance of brandy ; and nothing was heard but groans, lamentations, and the language of despair invoking death to deliver them from their miseries. What served

served to encourage this despondence, was the prospect of those poor wretches who had strength and opportunity to look around them; for there they beheld the naked bodies of their fellow-soldiers and comrades floating up and down the harbour, affording prey to the carrion crows and sharks, which tore them in pieces without interruption, and contributing by their stench to the mortality that prevailed.

This picture cannot fail to be shocking to the humane reader, especially when he is informed that while those miserable objects cried in vain for assistance, and actually perished for want of proper attendance; every ship of war in the fleet could have spared a couple of surgeons for their relief; and many young gentlemen of that profession solicited their captains in vain for leave to go and administer help to the sick and wounded. The necessities of the poor people were well known; the remedy was easy and apparent; but the discord between the chiefs was inflamed to such a degree of diabolical rancour, that the one chose rather to see his men perish than ask help of the other, who disdained to offer his assistance unasked, tho' it might have saved the lives of his fellow subjects.

Had the admiral, when the troops moved to the attack of San Lazaro, sent in a few ships against the town, to make a diversion in their favour, the enemy would have been distracted, and their fire so divided that neither the land-forces nor the men of war could have suffered much damage, and in all probability the city would have been surrendered at discretion. Or even without this diversion, had the soldiers been joined by a body of sailors, when they marched to the assault, the attempt might have succeeded; for while the troops, by regular discharges, could have cleared the parapet of the enemy, the sailors being more accustomed to climbing and boarding, might have applied the ladders,  
scaled



scaled the walls, and forced the gate, so as to afford admission to the foldiers.

The sickness still increasing among the troops, and the admiral declining to land a reinforcement for supplying the loss by which the army was diminished; it was resolved, in a council of war, to desire the admiral to give directions for re-embarking the cannon, since his silence with regard to the demanded reinforcement seemed to imply a denial.

Some acrimonious messages having passed between the chiefs on this subject, the land officers demanded a general council of war, which was accordingly held on board the admiral's own ship on the 14th day of April, when, after the condition of the army, and the posture of affairs, were taken into consideration, it was agreed, that as the troops were greatly diminished, weakened and fatigued, and as their supplies of water were almost exhausted, the siege of such a strong place as Carthagene could not be attempted with any probability of success; and therefore the artillery and forces should be re-embarked with all convenient expedition.

A disposition was immediately formed for a retreat; and next day the cannon, stores, and heavy baggage were put on board. Mean while captain Knowles began to throw shells at fort St. Lazaro from two small mortars, in a battery which he had judiciously raised on the shore under cover of his ship, at the distance of two thousand six hundred yards from the castle, notwithstanding the remonstrances of colonel Lewis of the train, who gave him to understand that this was the utmost distance a mortar can carry when the chamber is quite filled with powder; an expedient never practised but upon proof. But the captain piqued himself upon being an able engineer, and in the confidence of his own capacity expended a good number of shells to the amusement of the enemy.

April

April the 16th, the Galicia, one of the Spanish ships of war, taken at Bocachica, having been by the admiral's direction fitted up as a floating battery, mounting sixteen guns only, manned by detachments from the navy, and commanded by captain Hoare, was warped up the harbour before day, and moored at some distance from the town, which she began to cannonade with great vigour and some success. After having lain above five hours exposed to the whole fire of Carthagene and fort Lazaro, the captain was ordered to cut her cables, and let her drive out broadside before the sea breeze; but running a-ground on a shoal, the men and ammunition were removed in boats, and she was set on fire by order of the admiral.

This very extraordinary experiment of sending in a battery of sixteen guns against the whole fire of Carthagene, seems to have been calculated by Mr. Vernon to shew the impracticability of attacking that city with ships only; but, unfortunately for him, it had a quite different effect: for if that vessel, with sixteen guns, could sustain such a fire for five hours, what might have been expected from five or six large men of war, moored in a line, within point blank shot of the walls? If the partizans of Vernon insinuate that there is no water for such vessels, they must be referred again to the soundings of the harbour; they must be desired to take notice that the galleons lie in a basin close up to the walls; that the Spaniards have very lately erected a battery of forty large pieces of cannon, for the defence of the town on the side of the harbour; a very unnecessary expence if the water is so shoal as to prevent the approach of large ships; and that Monsieur de Pointis, among other large ships, sent in the Sceptre of eighty-four guns to batter the place, which surrendered accordingly. At seven in the evening of that same day on which the Galicia cannonaded

nonaded the town, the tents were struck; at eight the troops marched from their ground, and embarked in three divisions in the boats prepared for their reception. The general in person brought up the rear, and perceiving that five tents belonging to the Americans were left standing, and some tools lying on the ground, he ordered them to be fetched off by a serjeant's guard, reinforced with some sailors by lieutenant Forrest; so that there was nothing left as a trophy to the enemy, who did not think fit to molest them in the retreat.

The sickness still continued to encrease among the troops\*, and even infected the sailors to such a degree that they died in great numbers, and universal dejection prevailed. In order therefore to prevent the total ruin of the army and fleet, preparations were made to quit this inhospitable climate. The Spanish forts in the possession of the English were all dismantled and blown up; and the whole fleet being wooded and watered for the voyage, fell down to Bocachica, from whence they set sail for Jamaica.

Thus ended, in damage and disgrace, the ever-memorable expedition to Carthagene, undertaken with an armament which, if properly conducted, might have not only ruined the Spanish settlements in America, but even reduced the whole West Indies under the dominion of Great Britain.

\* The distemper which then raged among the English was the bilious fever, attended with such a putrefaction of the juices that the colour of the skin, which at first is yellow, adopts a footy hue in the progress of the disease, and the patient generally dies about the third day, with violent atrabilious discharges upwards and downwards. Nothing so effectually prevents or corrects this putrefaction, as plenty of sweet water, fresh provision, and a liberal use of vegetable acids, such as limes, lemons, oranges, ananas, and other fruits natural to the West Indies. Of all these refreshments the people were in the utmost want, tho' both army and fleet might have been plentifully supplied by employing some of the transports which lay inactive, to fetch turtle, live stock, and fruit from the neighbouring islands.









